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Integration(s) and Resistance.

**Governments, Capital, Social Organisations and Movements, and the
arrival of 'foreign immigrants' in Barcelona and Lisbon.**

by

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**A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the
degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Ethnic Relations**

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The origin of this piece of work is back in January 1992, when I joined an anti-racist association in Barcelona, after seeing some posters in Ciutat Vella's walls. For over three years I participated actively in such social organisation², and the raw topic of this research was inspired by that experience. This project was made concrete and widened later thanks to my incorporation, in September 1994, to the Research Team on Mobility and Migrations directed by Àngels Pascual de Sans, at the Department of Geography of Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona (UAB). It is a fruit of her suggestions that a first idea, consistent of studying the relations between Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs), trade unions, social movements, 'foreign immigrants' associations from impoverished countries and public authorities was widened in order to include also associations of immigrants from enriched countries, employers' organisations and the need of conceptualising 'integration' in a wider way. Also enrichments of those times were working in a research project on Labour Market and Immigration in Catalonia³, the exchanges with research-colleagues and friends

¹ Mutual-help is in contrast with the so-called 'team-work' fostered by 'toyotism', which is another way of boosting control on people's lives. As it will be noted in this thesis, mutual-help is a social process, in front of post-fordist 'team work' which is a systemic process. However, here these processes will not be analysed in depth at the work place, but in more general terms in relation to organisational dynamics both in Barcelona and Lisbon.

² During the last times in that anti-racist organisation, the experience of a number of young people of my age was also enriched with our participation in the struggle against tuition fees at the university, and supporting the labour's general strike of 27 January 1994 at neighbourhoods and workplaces.

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In any case, I am the only responsible for the final result.

This thesis is dedicated, in memoriam, to all those African people who have been killed during the 1990s by European immigration policies while trying to cross the Gibraltar strait. Of course they were human beings like any of us, even if some individuals want to create an 'European common project', or to recreate the old national ones, based on exclusion and a supposed superiority of destiny in the universal. The executioners and the victims have names and surnames, but the system is responsible as well.

However, this thesis is hopefully also a contribution to life. Thus, it is also dedicated to all those who struggle to defeat capitalism, patriarchy, racism, bureaucracy and hierarchies, and to keep on building an alternative world, now.

Declaration

I, Ricard Morén-Alegret, state that this PhD thesis is my own work. Chapter 1 and Chapter 7 are revised versions of two chapters of my MPhil thesis, submitted in Catalan at the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona in 1998.

Summary

In a context characterised by the shift from fordism to post-fordism in the Iberian peninsula, this thesis addresses the following question *how are capital, governments and social movements organised in the processes of integration and resistance that affect 'foreign immigration' in Barcelona and Lisbon?*

Thus, in the first chapter, an analysis of the concept of “integration” is undertaken in order to understand the complexities and elusiveness that hide behind it, giving special attention to immigrants’ integration literature. A distinction between systemic integration and social integration is adopted, and thus in the second chapter recent theorisation on capital and the state (i.e. systemic institutions) is approached, while in the third chapter social movements and organisations are taken into account. In chapter four epistemological and methodological elements are noted. The last three chapters are devoted to analyse original fieldwork data (mainly qualitative interviews): chapter 6 analyses immigration governmental policies at European, ‘national-state’, ‘national-regional’, and local levels; chapter 7 studies social and capital organisations in Barcelona in relation to ‘foreign immigration’; and in chapter 8 social and capital organisations are studied in relation to ‘foreign immigration’ in Lisbon. Finally, some conclusions are revealed whilst other questions are posed.

Abbreviations

ACIME	Alto Comissário pela Imigração e as Minorias Étnicas
ACSAR	Associació Catalana de Solidaritat i Ajuda als Refugiats
AIMC	Associació d'Immigrants Marroquins a Catalunya
AIP	Associação Industrial Portuguesa
AIWC	American and International Women's Club
AMIC	Associació d'Ajuda Mútua d'Immigrants a Catalunya
ASOMIPEX	Asociación de Solidaridad con las Mujeres Inmigrantes de Perú en el Extranjero
ASOPXI	Associació de Suport a les Organitzacions Populars Xilenes
ATIME	Asociación de Inmigrantes Marroquíes en España
AWOL	American Women of Lisbon
BE	Bloco de Esquerdas
CACEP	Conselho de Apoio às Caridades de Portugal
CC	Coalición Canaria
CCOO	Comisiones Obreras / Comissions Obreres
CDU	Candidatura Democrática Unitária
CEOE	Confederación Española de Organizaciones Empresariales
CGT	Confederació General del Treball / Confederación General del Trabajo
CGTP	Confederação Geral de Trabalho Português
CIP	Confederação da Indústria Portuguesa
CITE	Centre d'Informació per Treballadors Estrangers
CiU	Convergència i Unió
CLACA	Casal Llatinoamericà a Catalunya
CNRE	Comissão Nacional para a Regularização Extraordinária
CPLP	Comunidade de Países de Língua Portuguesa
CML	Câmara Municipal de Lisboa
CNT	Confederación Nacional del Trabajo /Confederació Nacional del Treball
DGM	Dirección General de Migraciones
DGOM	Dirección General de Ordenación de las Migraciones
EC	European Commission
ERC	Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya
ETT	Empresa de Trabajo Temporal
EU	European Union
EUiA	Esquerra Unida i Alternativa
EXPO98	Universal Exposition of Lisbon in 1998.
FAR	Frente Anti-Racista
FAVB	Federació d'Associacions de Veïns i Veïnes de Barcelona
FCIC	Federació de Collectius d'Immigrants a Catalunya
FTN	Fomento del Trabajo Nacional / Foment del Treball Nacional

GRAMC	Grups de Recerca i Actuació sobre Minories Culturals i Treballadors Estrangers
IC	Iniciativa per Catalunya
IMERSO	Instituto de Migraciones y Servicios Sociales
INEM	Instituto Nacional de Empleo
IU	Izquierda Unida
LIA	Local Integration/Partnership Programme
MAI	Ministério de Administração Interna
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
OCM	Obra Católica das Migrações
PALOP	Países Africanos de Língua Oficial Portuguesa
PCC	Partit Comunista de Catalunya
PCE	Partido Comunista de España
PCP	Partido Comunista Português
PER	Plan Especial de Realojamento
PEV	Partido Ecologista-Os Verdes
PGA	People's Global Action
PI	Partit de la Independència
PIMEC	Petita i Mitjana Empresa de Catalunya
PNV	Partido Nacionalista Vasco
PP	Partido Popular
PS	Partido Socialista
PSC	Partit Socialista de Catalunya
PSOE	Partido Socialista Obrero Español
PSR	Partido Socialista Revolucionário
PSUC	Partit Socialista Unificat de Catalunya
QUANGOS	Quasi Non-Governmental Organisations
SAIER	Servei d'Atenció a Immigrants, Estrangers i Refugiats.
SCAL	Secretariado Coordenador de Associações pela Legalização
SEF	Serviço de Estrangeiros e Fronteiras
UCD	Unión de Centro Democrático
UDP	União Democrática do Povo
UGT	Unión General de Trabajadores / União Geral de Trabalhadores
USOC	Unió Sindical Obrera de Catalunya

Introduction: Mapping this thesis in a few words

'Till I'm laid to rest
Always be depressed
There's no life in the West
I know the East is the best
All the propaganda they spread
Tongues will have to confess.
I'm in bondage living in a mess
I've got to rise up alleviate the stress
No longer I will expose my weakness
Who seeks knowledge begins with humbleness
Work 7 to 7 but I'm still penniless ...
Buju Banton *'Til Shiloh*, 1995

Although the 'East' may be the best in a number of ways and there is a lot to learn from there, this thesis has been carried out in the 'West' with the support from some 'Eastenders'. I hope to have avoided Eurocentrism, but this can be difficult when you write from 'states' with an imperial background such as Spain, Portugal and the United Kingdom⁵. Having said this, the key issue for the following pages may be raised. The main aim of this thesis is - from social sciences, and, more concretely, from human geography⁶ - to answer the following question: *how are capital, governments and social movements organised in the processes of integration and resistance that affect 'foreign immigrants' in Barcelona and Lisbon?*

Social *organisations* are key to an understanding of socio-political changes, and in societies under capitalism they follow class interests. This class orientation takes place even if such classes are marginalised and there are instances of inter-classist organisations based on nationality or ethnic background. Thus in this thesis it will be demonstrated that most 'foreign immigrant' associations and other social organisations

⁵ However, perhaps because I come from Catalonia - a territory which has suffered the oppression of its language and culture by Castille with the connivance of a part of its bourgeoisie - I hope to have been sufficiently aware in this thesis of the Eurocentrist danger that threatens sciences (even if, of course, the Catalan ruling class joined Eurocentrist positions, I do not belong to such a class).

⁶ In a sense, this thesis can be located, following Derek Gregory's (1994) words in *Geographical Imaginations*, at a point where, since a few years ago, human geography has become more 'socialised' - because a significant number of practicians have reflected, critically and systematically, on the connections between social practice and human geography -, and social theory has become also more 'spatialised' and 'localised', in new and immensely productive forms.

related to international immigrants based in Lisbon and Barcelona have to position themselves in class terms in both polities.

Historically, *younger* people have been considered 'newcomers' to society (Arendt, 1963), in a way that may have some similarities with immigrants; for example, Jan Lucassen and Rinus Penninx (1997) have also called immigrants 'newcomers'. Both would be in contrast with what are supposed to be *older* members of society or 'oldcomers'. Although as time goes by it is more difficult to draw a distinction between immigrants and non-immigrants, between newcomers and oldcomers (or not 'comers' at all) due to human mobility across the world, capitalist countries' governments dictate foreign immigration laws that try to create such differentiations. Thus some new social organisations may be set up in order to avoid the damage such legislation may produce in human beings when it establishes such rigid categories as 'foreigner'. In this sense, it may be interesting for popular and social movements who struggle for humanity all over the world of learning from the new social organisations created by the 'newcomers' and the ways in which older organisations are re-adapted to their arrival. In Northern Europe, the passage of time affected immigrants' associations and political participation in concrete ways (Layton-Henry, 1990). In Southern Europe it is necessary to study which forms of participation social movements and organisations have adopted in relation to international immigration and how new associations have been created.

Social organisations, which are often termed associations, are the necessary bridge that may allow *social movements* to shift from 'short wave' mobilisations to 'medium wave' popular movements and, later, to 'long wave' historical movements (Villasante, 1994). And yet, distinct social movements have specific historical characteristics in their different degrees of development, and thus it is necessary to undertake comparative studies to understand such geographical diversity if the main aim is to challenge capitalism as the hegemonic system and to build a way for present and future life. International comparative studies can be a good medicine in overcoming the *localism*, and in improving grassroots trans-nationalism. In other words, such studies can be useful in order to link local social movements with global social movements in a practical and efficient way in order to destroy capitalism and, at the same time, create

lively alternatives (see Chapters 2 and 3). Furthermore, in relation to immigration in southern Europe, according to Russell King, Anthony Fielding and Richard Black (1997: 22), 'it is through transnational comparison that we can move to a clearer understanding of the forces that are generating these new immigrations, and the appropriateness of policy responses'.

According to Milton Santos⁷, geography has now reached historical maturity, because of the empirical universality of globalisation and - thanks to the omnipresence of information, production, trade, etc. - it has ended up meaning that every place recognises itself in the world, assuring the *integration* between place and world.

But this is not the only kind of integration that will be studied here. This study started as a research project on 'the role of public administrations and social agents in the integration of foreign immigrants in Spain and Portugal'. Thus the proper starting point was to study, in Chapter 1, a range of social science approaches to integration, for all social groups in general and for 'immigrants' in particular. After approaching a number of them, I realised that it was important to take both the 'system' (understood as capital plus state) and 'society' into account. Thus Chapter 2 is devoted to the literature of the relations between the 'state' and capital in fordism and post-fordism (including, in the latter, toyotism). However, when approaching social organisations, in Chapter 3, I found in Antonio Gramsci and other authors help in understanding the different positions they hold in relation to capital and the 'state'. In fact, Gramsci (1930-35) considered that the 'State' was the addition of government and civil society (the latter, including associations, etc.). But this 'State' is not static, it is the result of dynamic processes. Such processes or relations can become conflictive or integrative, but it has to be taken into account that conflicts can also be (systemically or socially) integrative and that processes that try to integrate can become so conflictual as to provoke a social break-down.

In these processes, collective actions, social movements or organisations may have a key involvement. Their orientation in relation to the dominant system, following Jesús

⁷ Interview in *Teoria e Debate*, n°40, 1999 (Brazil), p. 34.

Ibáñez (quoted in Villasante, 1994), can be converse (of acceptance), perverse (of protest with a superficial change), subversive (when the collective protest installs an alternative legitimacy) and reversive (when declarations of principles of the system are accepted, but not implemented and then overwhelmed in practice with concrete alternatives). In order to reach alternatives, action may be necessary. Thus, collective actions, social movements or organisations can be of several kinds: on the one hand, as 'groups of action' are those groups created by a plurality of individuals with an alternative project, more or less global, in the face of the institutional apparatus (including state and capital) and with a strategy of transformation. On the other hand, 'ensembles of action' are those composed by individuals who participate in a social movement or organisation with an objective perhaps not immediate, but without putting the system into question. Thirdly, the 'agglomerates of protest' include those individuals who are integrated in actions with the unique objective of a concrete protest (Sánchez Casas, 1997). Fourthly, 'passive groups' are those composed by a plurality of individuals not willing to transform anything, but with the aim of conserving cultural, social and economic life. Finally, 'safety-valve' groups, ensembles or agglomerates are composed of individuals dedicated to avoiding protests, but may be converted into destroyers of alternative projects or experiences.

This organisational diversity was studied in wide fieldwork (see Chapter 4) and is mainly based on qualitative research. According to Norman K. Denzin and Yvonna S. Lincoln (1998: 22), today qualitative research is in its fifth historical moment, which is characterised by, among other features, the abandonment of aloof research, more activist-oriented research, and more social critique.

After the analysis of the information gathered both in Lisbon and Barcelona (see Chapters 7 and 8), it was possible to see how in social organisations often changed positions over time, sometimes being groups of action, other times becoming 'safety-valve' institutions. Thus the state can be understood as the addition of governments plus institutionalised social organisations at a given moment and place. In a sense, following Slater (1997), the state can be identified with 'politics' while 'the political' is the social movement that challenges such ordered and institutionalised 'politics', having both spatialisation and geographical implications (see Chapter 3).

Little literature exists on the relationship between 'organised capital' and social organisations, and during the fieldwork only commercial sponsorship agreements of a Catalan NGO with a big clothes company and other businesses are significant enough to be mentioned here. However, capital is more than the organisations that openly defend its rule or the business companies, it is a system that 'colonises' everything, including human beings opposed to it in social organisations. In this sense, one of capital's faces is money. Social movements and organisations may be influenced by their relation to money (which may be at the same time a key bond in their relation with governments). Today under neoliberalism, money is one of the key resources for an organisation; even in the most 'alternative' project, the relationship with 'money' may condition its possible successes and strength (and even when there is opposition to 'money', a relationship to money still exists).

Even so, it is possible to resist in an organised way the system's threat. Such resistance is better understood by bearing space and class in mind. On the one hand, following Steve Pile (1997: 27), 'resistance is as much defined through the struggle to define liberation, space and subjectivity as through the élite's attempts to defeat, prevent, and oppress those who threaten their authority. At the heart of questions of resistance lie questions of spatiality - the politics of lived spaces.' On the other hand, in Chapter 5 Iberian urban areas are examined, paying special attention to immigrations, but it is in Chapters 7 and 8 that class is properly approached. In these chapters it is shown how in Spain and Portugal, since the 1980s, the main conflict around 'foreign immigration' has been the legislation passed by central governments on the status of 'foreigners', dividing those immigrants from the rest of society. This kind of discrimination may be called institutional racism (Joly, 1998). However, such legislation does not equally affect all 'foreign immigrants': the country of origin, relations with the means of production, the amount of money in a bank account, etc. are influences in how differently legislation affects a 'foreign immigrant'. Following Michael Keith (1997), subjectivities of resistance cannot be divorced from the institutions of subjectification, thus immigration government policies will also be examined (Chapter 6).

Furthermore, when 'foreign immigrants' organise themselves into associations or join together with local people in other social organisations, it will be seen that those who struggle for changing or putting an end to legislation on foreigners are, in general, those also concerned with conditions at the workplace. This is because there is usually a direct link between denying residence and work permits to foreign workers and a major appropriation by employers of surplus-value from workers (in other words, workers' exploitation is easier if people do not have proper documents). If an employer does not pay social security taxes for workers and keeps them out from accessing social benefits, such an employer is probably obtaining more profit from those workers. This situation of minimum labour rights may affect in a similar way a Spanish or Portuguese young student who works part-time in a pizzeria or a foreign worker who works full time (over 12 hours a day) on a building site. However, apart from the obvious distinction in hours, a difference is that the latter can be threatened with expulsion from Iberia at any time, and his/her social situation may be more complex and vulnerable. Both may be considered as 'fresh' labour, as Marx mentioned it, but the struggle to re-appropriate the surplus value may have some differences, due to laws governing foreigners⁸. Thus, the struggle that several social organisations started - in Spain since the late 1980s and in Portugal since the early 1990s - to change foreigners' legislation can be related to a class struggle to avoid over-exploitation of foreign workers, especially those who are de-documented, but also the rest who have to renew residence permits and need a labour contract in order to do so. Bureaucratic procedures militate against 'foreign workers' rights.

In this way, the relationship between the capitalist class and immigration will also be examined, because employers and traders can also be migrants (Cardelús and Pascual de Sans, 1979), and it is not possible to understand immigration policies and social mobilisation without taking into account the organisation of capital. The current context of 'defeat' that in general terms is illustrated by the devastation of most workers and popular movements since the 1970s has had as a consequence the disappearance of serious attempts to take over the means of production, with the

⁸ A very recent instance of such capital need for *fresh* labour can be found in the headlines of one of the main newspapers in Barcelona: 'Hotel employers in Girona want to employ 'without papers' immigrants' *El Periódico*, 13-8-1999.

exception of small co-operative companies (mainly those without big fixed capital investments). In any case, the governments' paternalism of the 'welfare state' did not satisfy people's needs at a global level (even in those countries where it was more advanced, most women and 'ethnic' minorities were discriminated against).

Today, explicitly or implicitly, the main aim for a significant number of organisations is 'partnership', even where the distribution of power may be very uneven: partnership between labour and capital, partnership between capital and governments, and partnership between labour and governments. However, there is also another call, a claim for 'resistance': basically, people's resistance to capital and governments⁹. In the case of 'foreign immigrants' the main resistance may be to legislation, but it is also resistance to Eurocentric cultural imperialism. However, sometimes such resistance may lead to an 'enclosure' and it can be learned from history that enclosures are not the best way to resist capital oppression, because such enclosed groups can be isolated and consumed as an 'exotic' product ('Chinese food' or 'African music', for example) or attacked for being a supposed threat to society (for instance, islamophobia in Europe and the USA).

Furthermore, it is relevant here, to critically examine conceptions of '*development*' and '*sub-development*' stages. There is no such thing as linear development with positive results for humankind and nature as a whole, but an arrogant Eurocentric, reductionist, managerial logic against nature's cyclical flows (see Shiva, in Salleh, 1997). In this thesis expressions such as development and sub-development will be avoided in relation to countries, regions or areas, and instead the concept of enriched and impoverished countries and regions will be defended along with the idea of world-ruling classes geographically concentrated in a few countries, regions and areas (the enriched ones, which may be poor in natural resources). Such ruling classes base their power on the domination and exploitation of people living in impoverished countries, regions and areas which are usually rich in natural resources.

⁹ Production is not a main concern for European social movements. This contrasts with the Brazilian landless movement's (MST) motto '*ocupar, resistir e produzir*' (to squat, to resist, and to produce), and their network of small co-operative companies. In Southern Europe, except to a certain extent in Italy, even the squatter movement is mostly just concerned with squatting in a place and resisting.

This introduction has been, in a sense, inspired by a study written in 1904 by Rosa Luxemburg on the *organisation* of Russian ‘social-democracy’¹⁰ in comparison to the situation of their fellows in Western Europe, mainly in Germany. She introduced the paper in the following way:

It is a time-honoured truth that the Social Democratic movement in the backward countries must learn from the *older* movements in the developed countries. We dare to add to this proposition the opposite: the older and advanced Social Democratic parties just as well can and must learn from more intimate knowledge of their *younger* brother parties. For Marxist economists - as opposed to the bourgeoisie classical, and all of the more to vulgar economists - all of the economic stages which preceded the capitalist economic order are not simply forms of ‘underdevelopment’ as compared with the summit of the creation, *capitalism*, but rather are different types of economies with equal historical status. In the same way, for Marxist politicians the differently developed *socialist movements*¹¹ are explicit, determined, historical individuals. And the more we get to know the characteristics of Social Democracy in the entire manifold of its different social milieus, the more we become aware of the essentials, the fundamentals, the principles of the Social Democratic movement, the more the limited horizons conditioned by *localism* fall away. It is not for nothing that the *international* note vibrates so strongly in revolutionary Marxism; it is not for nothing that the opportunist mode of thought rings continually in national seclusion. (Luxemburg, 1904: 283-284; italics are mine)

Furthermore, Luxemburg considered that ‘in the Social Democratic movement the question of organisation too is not an artificial product of propaganda but an historical product of class struggle’ (p. 285).

In the last few decades, the international ‘social-democratic movement’ as such has been destroyed. The remaining bodies are, in brief, a (second) socialist international mainly seeking a supposed ‘Third way’ (in order to say goodbye to socialism); informal (third) ‘communist’ international survivors of the Berlin Wall and Eurocommunism collapses; and several small and divided (fourth) Trotskyists and (fifth) Maoists internationals. Furthermore, there are also some bodies of the (first) international which can be found in anarchist partial international networks, but which are also divided and small. I do not have the chance here to analyse why such disaster happened, but it is necessary to take it into account because such a working class internationalist crisis affects tangentially the development of this thesis. Indeed,

¹⁰ The meaning of the term ‘social-democracy’ today is by far different of its meaning when Rosa Luxemburg was writing those words. It is one of the many concepts that has been perverted during the XXth century. Today it is difficult to use it from an alternative and revolutionary point of view, and it is an instance of the colonisation of social vocabulary by the system.

¹¹ In the Spanish translation approached first, the term written is ‘social movement’, and not ‘socialist movement’ as in the English translation.

because also a diversity of new and old social movements are becoming more coordinated at a world level in order to challenge the current *status quo*, as the partial success of the global day of action in the last June 18 may suggest¹².

On the other hand, the situation in the early twentieth century, before Stalinism brought terror to a part of humanity in the name of a supposed 'socialism', was different from today (at that time, socialism was mainly synonymous with freedom and equality). Instead, now for a significant number of people 'socialism' and 'communism' are synonymous with Stalinism, bureaucracy, control and terror, thanks to capitalist mass media campaigns and school systems, which include completely different movements within the same category¹³.

Furthermore, I hope this is not a 'partisan' nor an 'old fashioned' thesis, as are sometimes named in today's academia those works that do not follow the neoliberal 'unique thought'. It is not 'partisan' because this research project takes into account diverse points of view (and this is one of the reasons why is so long), and because it follows scientific methods. And it is not 'old fashioned' because, apart from taking into account several of the 'newest' works in the issues dealt with, it includes information from an 'empirical' research in Iberia carried out between 1996 and 1999, focusing mainly on Barcelona and Lisbon. Thus this is not an ethnography of a neighbourhood, but a comparative study of some dynamics in two cities, and it needs contextualisation. Furthermore, even if this PhD thesis has been significantly shortened, it is long because the breadth of the topic needs space to develop it properly, and because displaying original quotations is a way of giving voice to some of those people who gave some time for the research¹⁴ while other researchers might be interested in read them. This is a PhD thesis, it is neither a research report nor a

¹² After writing this introduction, the results of another global day of action on the 30th of November 1999 against the World Trade Organisation, including demonstrations in over 40 countries and the 'riots' in Seattle, give more instances of such re-organisation of transnational grassroots networks.

¹³ This thesis has nothing to do with Stalinism or any other form of terrorism. Rosa Luxemburg, and other authors (including geographers such as William Bunge and David Harvey) mentioned here who have been interested in Marx's work have nothing to do with Stalinism either. Furthermore, anarchist geographers such as Elisée Reclus and Peter Kropotkin who have also inspired this thesis belong to a human libertarian communism, and not to the narrow-minded 'individualist anarchism'.

¹⁴ Unfortunately, not all of them have their words gathered here. I apologise to those whose words deserve being here and they are not because the limit of words.

book. Neoliberalism also affects universities: academics write and read less books and more articles, there are less debates and less links with social organisations, and more short reports and links with capital. Theses are also affected by these processes. Capacity to be concise is shown here if the reader takes into account the thousands of pages of interviews transcribed, the hundreds of documents gathered, the hundreds of fieldwork notes, etc. I think this position is ethically coherent with what I have written in these pages.

In summary, a series of key questions were posed for this thesis:

- What has been the orientation of social organisations and movements related to ‘foreign immigration’ in Barcelona and Lisbon during recent decades?
- In which processes they have been involved?
- Who participates in such social organisations and movements?
- Who is funding such social organisations and movements?
- What alliances have taken place?
- How important have geographical, economic, political or social events been in such orientations during the last years?
- What have their spatial locations been?
- What has their relationship been with governments?
- What was the role of governments in such processes and how were they involved?
- How are capitalists organised in Iberia?
- In which ways is money influential in social organisations and movements?

At the end of this thesis (and, thus, at the beginning of new research) some conclusions are revealed whilst new questions will be posed.

1. The complexity of integration

"I live in a banlieu without information
I am en Europe et j'ai quitté Africa
J'ai laissé my brother, my mother et my father
Et c'est l'immigration l'exil for all my brother
In a fric fashion...
Quand tu es à la rue tu vois l'indifference
Tu vois la supercherie tu vois la fausse transparence
D'une société de gaspillace de très grosses carences
sur la moquette de Babylon s'entasse la pourriture
Pendant que des enfants n'ont pas de nourriture
Il ya dans ce pays un clivage une cassure
entre le fond et la forme, la *forme* a plusd'importance"
Gnawa diffusion, 1997

Both in the academic sphere and the mass media, the word 'immigration' is often uncritically linked to 'integration' issues, taking for granted that those who migrate always face more problems of integration than the rest of the population. However, as Àngels Pascual de Sans (1992) has suggested, migration often serves as a front for other phenomena, and social conflicts that are considered as associated with migration often conceal more fundamental conflicts.

Herbert Marcuse noted thirty years ago - during the so-called 'Cold War' - that the coexistence between capitalism and 'the communist bloc' was explained, on the one hand, by capitalism's metamorphosis towards certain state intervention (to mitigate market harmful effects), and, on the other hand, because the deformation that the original idea of socialism suffered in practice, which was in part due to external capitalist pressure¹⁵ (Mattick, 1972). Thus, after the Berlin Wall collapsed, societies under capitalist rule in the 1990s lost that external 'help' for their integration called 'real socialism'. Is that sufficient reason to explain the recent repetitive use of the term 'integration'?

¹⁵ Marcuse, H. (1965) "Le Socialisme dans la société industrielle" *Revue internationale du socialisme*, II, 8, p.147. Some parts of this article are quoted in Paul Mattick (1972).

One of the contexts in which it is common to find this term 'integration' is in debates on immigration into Europe. In these debates, a rigorous analysis, a formulation of relevant questions, working hypotheses and systematic observations is required (Pascual de Sans, 1992), so to advance that research the first step is to obtain the maximum precision in the use of terms.

'Integration', as Rainer Bauböck (1994: 9-10) suggests, is a 'rather elusive concept'. However, according to him, two main meanings can be found, in general linked to one type of integration, the so-called 'social integration':

- the first interpretation refers to the internal cohesion of a system or aggregate composed of a multitude of singular units or elements
- the second one designates the entry into the system of elements which had not been part of the environment before, or the extension of the system to incorporate such external elements or units.

If this Janus-faced conception is taken into account, it would be worthwhile to substitute the study of immigrants' integration for the study of the integration of all social groups (Pascual de Sans, Cardelus, 1987). Of course, it is not possible to study in detail all society at the same time, and although many categories can be seen as problematic, in order to reject mainstream categories and to suggest useful alternative ones, it is necessary to take into account and criticise the former ones, in a similar way to Marx's methods (Carver, 1975). This is also what John Holloway (1995: 119) is suggesting: 'The different academic disciplines take these forms (the state, money, the family) as given and so contribute to their apparent solidity, and hence to the stability of societies under capitalist rule. To think scientifically is to dissolve these *forms*, to understand them as forms; to act freely is to destroy these forms.' In this thesis, the theoretical approach is not just on 'immigrants', but the general framework of enriched countries under capitalism has been taken into account, and 'integration' is defined in a broader way than usual.

In the following pages, is offered an overview of the origins and evolution of the term 'integration', and its location in contemporary social sciences.

1.1. Approaches to integration

Through the history of social sciences, diverse approaches to the concept of 'integration' can be found, and the elusiveness of such a term is not new. A review of the contributions of Durkheim, Tönnies, Landecker, Parsons and Mills can be a starting point.

At the turn of the nineteenth to the twentieth century, Émile Durkheim made a key contribution to social integration theories. As Harry Alpert (1941: 28) emphasised, for Durkheim 'society is an organisation, a more or less definite and permanent system of relationships. It is association, interaction, and communication, it is also system and unity'. Alpert also suggested that sociology had amassed much evidence to show that society is integrated, that it is a state of being whole.

To undertake the analysis of social integration, this concept may be differentiated in several ways. Thus, Durkheim indicated two fundamental and different *principles* of social integration: one based on the attraction of like for like (the similitudinous or mechanical solidarity); the other organised on complementary differences: the organic solidarity, which more cohesive instance would be that based on the division of labour (Alpert, 1941), on the specialisation of individuals in different kind of jobs. Nevertheless, looking directly to the texts of Durkheim, the organic solidarity would be stronger, in general, than the mechanical one, especially in industrial societies:

d'une manière generale, la solidarité mécanique lie moins fortement les hommes que la solidarité organique, mais encore, à mesure qu'on avance dans l'évolution sociale, elle va de plus en plus en se relâchant. (Durkheim, 1893: 124)

Thus mechanic and social solidarity have been considered parallels to the two main ways towards social cohesion or integration noted by Ferdinand Tönnies in 1887: *Gemeinschaft* - social solidarity based on commonality of bonds of sentiment, sense of place and purpose, identity, emotional commitments and values along with dense social networks and regular person to person relationships - and *Gesellschaft* - characterised

by impersonal and superficial relationships, isolated lives, normlessness and heterogeneous identifications (Vertovec, 1997).

However, Émile Durkheim already suggested that organic solidarity (functional integration) does not integrate on its own: a certain level of mechanical solidarity (moral integration) is necessary as well. But under capitalism the latter can disappear and then anomie may appear as a problem of moral integration that is demonstrated in the lack of a moral force - external to the pure individual interest - that is able to force, for instance, the fulfilment of a contract (Beriaín, 1996). As this author notes, then exists symbolic integration - which in modernity often takes the shape of the symbolic national community - the one able to alleviate the increasing social differentiation. Following Niklas Luhmann (1982), Beriaín suggests that the trend towards a social differentiation *in crescendo* will frame the debate on integration.

Later, some social scientists broadened the typology of integration. Thus Landecker (1951) developed one typology on the premise that for sociological purposes the smallest units of group life are the cultural standards on the one hand, and the persons and their behaviour, on the other. From this premise, he found three varieties: integration among cultural standards, integration among persons, and integration between cultural standards and the behaviour of persons. But these three varieties, for Landecker, represented four *types* of integration:

- *Cultural integration* is the consistency among cultural standards, and varies along a continuum ranging from extreme consistency to a high degree of inconsistency among standards of the same culture.
- *Normative integration*: is the integration between cultural standards and the behaviour of persons and it measures the degree to which the standards of the group constitute effective norms for the behaviour of the members. It varies from an extremely high frequency of conformity to cultural standards to a high frequency of violation.

In relation to the connections between persons, Landecker suggested two different types of integration:

- *Communicative integration* is integration among persons in the sense of an exchange of meanings, or communication. It ranges from communication throughout the group to the prevalence of barriers to communication within the group.
- *Functional integration* is integration among persons in the sense of an exchange of services, or division of labour. This kind of integration measures the degree to which the functions exercised by the members of the group constitute mutual services, and this varies from extreme interdependence to a high degree of self-sufficiency.

On the other hand, Talcott Parsons (1960), excluding cultural integration, distinguished between functional integration (specialisation and interdependence of individual social actors), normative integration (internalisation of society's norms, values and morality) and 'diffuse solidarity' (complex and functionally differentiated social system integrated through attachment to abstract and common normative values).

In this sense, Parsons (1971: 18-28), in one of his later works, suggested the following *methods* of integration in increasingly differentiated and plural societies:

- the *legal system*: law as the general normative code regulating action of, and defining the situation for, the member units of a society, where there is governmental monopoly of violence as an instrument of compulsion
- *membership in the societal community*: it is named citizenship, as composed by civic, political and social rights
- *three main types of operative organisation* (markets, bureaucracy and association structures).

However, arguing against Parsons' statements, C.W. Mills (1959: 54) suggested that there is no answer to the question 'What holds a social structure together?', because social structures differ profoundly in their degrees and kind of unity: 'There is no 'grand theory', no one universal scheme in terms of which we can understand the unity of social structure' (pp. 56-57). Mills suggested that the existence of an abstract 'grand theory' 'tends strongly to legitimate stable forms of domination'. Instead, Mills proposed the study of every different '*mode* of integration'.

The question is, are all these visions of integration sufficient to understand the key dynamics that transform and preserve enriched capitalist countries?

1.2. Systemic integration and social integration

The approaches to 'integration' mentioned above suggest interesting dimensions to take into account in order to understand today's societies. However, they seem to anchor us in a limited perspective. In order to delve deeply into them and to extend their scope, it is possible to start distinguishing between 'integration *of* social reality' and 'integration *in* social reality' (Sánchez Casas, 1996). According to this author, *integration of social reality* is the unification in a whole - that is possible to reproduce - of the different processes and activities that make up social reality. On the other hand, *integration in social reality* is the immersion of all elements and sub-elements - that is to say individuals, social groups, institutions and physical bodies - in the pre-existing and in the continued transformation of historical totality of which they are part.

Social reality is defined by Carlos Sánchez Casas (1996: 163-164) as the result of the interaction between society (social whole), system (institutional 'field'¹⁶), and habitat (environment) in such a form that, apart from the reciprocal integration of these three, the self-integration of each one is required. Thus there are three components that have to be taken into account in relation to the *integration of social reality*:

- *Social integration* (integration of society), which is defined by three main aspects: firstly, it has its core in the socialisation process (interaction between the social whole with the institutional field), that is made concrete in social actions (participative actions, with language as a medium, or ideological-normative actions, with power as a vehicle). Secondly, it is produced thanks to some allocation of power in the social whole from the institutional 'field', and to a participation - *via* understanding - of the

¹⁶ Sánchez Casas adopts a wide conception of system and institutional 'field': in enriched capitalist societies they include both State and Capital.

social whole in the institutional 'field' (all this on a basis of intersubjective relations that unify the social whole, and institutional relations that unify the institutional 'field'). Finally, it has institutional action and communicative action as ball-and-socket joints for the connection of forms of integration that allow the invasion of this process by external integration logics.

- *Systemic integration* (integration of the system), which on the one hand, has as core the production process (this is, interaction between institutional and physical 'fields'). On the other hand, it gives way to some allocation of power in the physical field from the institutional field, and, in reverse order, to a environmental conditioning of the production process and the institutional 'field' (from the physical 'field').

- *Habitat or environmental integration* (integration of the habitat) which has, on the one hand, its core in the process of habitat and is amalgamated by language and space-time. On the other hand, it is materialised in actions of use that also bring communicative action, and in semantic actions/inertias that imply the environmental action, mediated by space and time. Finally, communicative actions and environmental actions are the factors that connect social integration and systemic integration respectively.

However, if integration is understood as *integration in social reality*, as Sánchez Casas suggests, this makes reference basically to the social whole and, to a minor extent, to the two other elements: the institutional and physical 'fields'. In this way, focusing on the integration of the social whole in the social reality, that author notes the following ideas:

- Social integration is a direct integration - in the same way as it occurs with habitat integration - but systemic integration is an integration mediated by the institutional 'field'.

- In direct integrations the 'mortar' is communicative action and, as a consequence, language and understanding. In indirect integrations, the 'mortar' is power and instrumental action.

It is in this context of integration of the social whole in the social reality that the concept *lifeworld*, popularised by Jürgen Habermas (1987), makes sense. It is understood as support to social and habitation integrations.

In geography, the life-world has been studied in several occasions. Anne Buttimer (1976) defined it as the culturally defined spatio-temporal setting or horizon of everyday life, in other words, the totality of a person's direct involvement with the places and environments experienced in ordinary life. According to David Ley (1977), life-world is not characterised by isolation but by being a place of socialisation (thus to reach the latter, solidarity is necessary).

In a work on the integration of modern societies, the sociologist Josetxo Beriain (1996: 75) analyses from a dual perspective systemic integration (system) versus social integration (life-world):

'Systemic integration' alludes to the *functional* interlacing of non-intentional consequences of action aggregates that stabilise action plexus¹⁷. This network of action operates as transindividual structures, beyond the will and consciousness of those individual actors that make possible the coordination of large social groups' action. As instances of those structures, it is possible to mention the monetary system and the juridical apparatus. ... 'Social integration' makes reference to the coordination of social actions through the harmonisation of action orientations. Individuals orientate their actions reciprocally because they understand the meanings, social rules, and values in question. 'Social integration' needs to be carried out from the perspective of the participant actor in a context of action co-presence, it is not useful the role of observer of a third person...

This dual perspective can be exemplified through the work of several authors. Beriain (1996: 76-85), apart from Durkheim (mentioned above with his differentiation between organic and sociocultural solidarity), notes Marx, Weber, and Habermas. Karl Marx (1867), in his comment on the 'working day' in the first volume of *Capital*, describes the two voices that take part in the process. On the one hand, from the systemic perspective, *capital* does not have any other instinct than to grow and create surplus, it takes refuge in the commodities of exchange law, and its objective is to obtain the maximum profit from the value of use of its commodity. On the other hand, from what can be called *social* perspective, 'living crises' suffered by the worker due to transformations at work and in the way of life lead to the emergence of exploitation,

¹⁷ Plexus: network of filaments.

feelings of injustice, resentment, illness and alienation. But not only that, it also can lead to a defensive solidarity of 'labour' resistance and, later, 'capital' counterpressure:

That a capitalist should command on the field of production, is now as indispensable as that a general should command on the field of battle ... the end of the capitalist production is to extract the greatest possible amount of surplus value, and consequently to exploit labour power to the greatest possible extent. As the number of the cooperating labourers increases, so too does their resistance to the domination of capital, and with it, the necessity for capital to overcome the resistance by counterpressure. (Marx, 1867: 336)

Max Weber, who is considered the bureaucracy theorist in *Economy and Society* and critic of the bureaucratic processes in *Political writings*, also reflects two levels of analysis. On the one hand, from the *systemic* perspective, the modern bureaucratic organisation is supposedly superior to any other organisation form: precision, rapidity, univocity, officiality, continuity, discretion, uniformity, rigorous subordination, saving of friction and objective and personal costs are, according to Weber, far better in a severe bureaucratic administration. However, from the social perspective, from the perspective of clients and bureaucracy members, its characteristics, so appreciated by capitalism, can be developed only if it is 'de-humanised', if it removes love, hate, and all those sensitive personal elements, all irrational elements, that are outside calculation¹⁸. Weber defends a kind of bureaucratic fatalism, as for him there is almost no alternative to the bureaucratic machine:

When those subject to bureaucratic control seek to escape the influence of the existing bureaucratic apparatus, this is normally possible only by creating an organization which is equally subject to bureaucratization. ... Without it, a society like our own ... could no longer function. The only exception would be those groups, such as the peasantry, who are still in possession of their own means of subsistence. ... the capitalistic system has undeniably played a major role in the development of bureaucracy. Indeed, without it capitalist production could not continue and any rational type of socialism would have simply to take it over and increase its importance. ... Only by reversion in every field - political, religious, economic, etc. - to small scale organization would it be possible to any considerable extent to scape its influence. (Weber, 1956: 224).

Jürgen Habermas (1987), in *Theory of Communicative Action*, differentiates between 'lifeworld' and 'system'. From a *systemic* perspective, capitalist modernity has to face a double historic-social movement: a) networks of actions exchange (of commodities, etc.), delimited locally, tend to expand, and nation-state boundaries are surpassed by market-system action and b) 'Labour' loses its stratum brakes, production and goods

¹⁸ A recent instance of bureaucratic action, in cinematographic format, and, in a sense, related with foreign immigration, is the film *Lady Bird*, *Lady Bird*, directed by Ken Loach.

distribution loses extra-economic norms and they are transferred to an anonymous authority called 'market'. This means that 'money' and 'power' are able to impose themselves as stabilisation mechanisms in a society increasingly differentiated. 'Power' indicates the results of the political-administrative order, while 'money' marks the results of the monetary stimulus co-ordination.

Money and power, institutionally incorporated in bourgeois society, in the form of market and state, are complementary interrelated phenomena. State and market are the fundamental bearers of systemic imperatives: individuals are 'included' in new social functions spread by those new emergent systems¹⁹. A society is considered 'systemically integrated' when a) the capitalist market of goods, labour and capital is completely spread out, and b) a highly complex interventionist bureaucracy is also spread out. Both features have been developed in several countries since the 1920s and 30s, especially in Western Europe, North America and Japan.

On the other hand, Habermas suggests the *social* perspective as a perspective from the life-world. His 'lifeworld' conception includes culture, institutional orders, and personality structures as basic components and, in accord with Parsons, Habermas divides life-world into:

- 'culture', which is the knowledge from where participants in communication take interpretations to understand each other on any issue
- 'society', which includes those legitimate orders that are media for the participants in interactions to regulate their membership in several social groups, guaranteeing solidarity
- 'personality', which includes competencies that enable a subject to use language and undertake action, in other words, it includes those competencies that qualify people to take part in understanding processes and to affirm their identity.

¹⁹ According to Beriaín, Habermas contradicts 'marxist orthodox thoughts' that are based on the integrative force of the law of value, and which consider that phenomena as alienation and domination could be explained *only* in the relationship between salaried work and capital. Habermas, instead, extends the focus of alienation to the state, which is considered highly bureaucratic.

However, Habermas notes that the life-world does not supply any more basic behaviour orientations to sustain economic and political practices. Rather these are keeping - through economic awards and political domination - a reserve of basic motives in social bearers (isolated individuals, classes, stratum, trade unions, lobbies, etc.) that operate as a guarantee for the reproduction of the system. It is in the late modernity that *systemic rationalisation* enters into an open conflict with the *lifeworld*: a 'colonisation of the lifeworld by the system' takes place.

In this sense, some connections can be found between that process and the alienation and exploitation conceptualised by Karl Marx (1867). Although for Marx relations of production are the centre of the analysis, in the process of colonisation of the life-world by the system it is possible to make reference to a 'poli-centric' process, where the workplace would be today the most significant centre of alienation and exploitation, but not the only one, as is shown by Sizoo (1997). When the workplace is referred to as a key source of alienation, it is important to bear in mind that this is because it is shaped by capitalist relations. Instead, creative work realised outside capitalist relations could be related to the life-world, that is, if it is possible to choose when and where to work, the kind of production and how to organise it, what to do with the product of work, and, on the other hand, if people are compensated for the surplus value of the product of the own work.

On the other hand, from a diversity of geographical perspectives inspired by Marx, several studies on the system can be found. Concretely, David Harvey (1996), Neil Smith (1984) and Yves Lacoste (1976) can be underlined as having developed over two decades studies on diverse aspects of the capitalist system.

In the early 1970s William Bunge (1971, 1979, 1988) reclaimed the need to take into account the 'place of reproduction' as a place of alienation and exploitation. With other people, Bunge organised 'geographic expeditions' in Detroit and Toronto to study the situation of poor black women and the relations at home, the location of accidents caused by cars, the characteristics of children's playgrounds in impoverished areas, etc. and then all together they tried to discover their geography, their perception

of the space, which might help them to reclaim their 'territory' (Merrifield, 1995), in other words, to start a process of people's empowerment.

On the other hand, if we relate the aforementioned processes of colonisation of the life-world by the capitalist system with current debates in some European countries, two key examples can be raised related to time and space: firstly, the increase of the working hours (overtime, longer commuting time, etc.) limits 'free' time for people, and, secondly, there is a lack of spaces in which to develop inter-personal relations without the mediation of money.

However, there are responses to those trends as well. Among them, a couple can be mentioned here. Firstly, social struggles led by some trade unions and unemployed groups to obtain shorter working weeks that should increase the 'free' time without reduction of salary or worsen labour conditions. And, secondly, the social struggles led by some squatters' movements for the liberation of 'dead spaces' - due to the real estate speculation or the territory's 'planning' - that may drive to the creation of 'Squatted Social Centres' where socio-cultural and political activities can be developed in order to free such places of capitalist, sexist and racist relations.

1.3. Conceptions of 'immigrants' integration

Since the formation of the state as a fundamental political organisation, the attribute of 'foreignness' has been restricted to those persons who are not considered 'citizens' of a state (whether they are citizens of another state, or they are stateless persons). The functionality of the concept 'foreigner' is related to the attribution to the 'foreign' person by the state of different rights and duties to those conceded to the 'citizens' (the attribute of foreignness can make reference to both physical and juridical factors).

One of the features to take into account is the internal differences attributed to 'foreign immigrants' by the state of the country where they arrive. Thus it may afford a common status to foreigners in general, plus a plurality of special status. This is the case, for instance in Spain, of the foreigners from other European Union countries

(who as time goes by have a status more similar to Spanish citizens) or the nationals from Latin American countries, Andorra, the Philippines and Equatorial Guinea, who enjoy some advantages in obtaining Spanish nationality in comparison to other foreigners (Sánchez Lorenzo, 1991). In the Portuguese case, those who enjoy some advantages are nationals from former Portuguese colonies, especially Cape Verde and Brazil, but also Angolans, Bissau Guineans and Mozambiqueans.

However, the concept 'immigrant' is a category without juridical translation: it is a demographic, geographical or socio-geographical concept which defines those persons established in a place and whose origin is in another area, region, country, state, etc. It is also important to consider duration of habitation, however (Pascual de Sans, 1987). Research in urban areas indicates that in a large number of cases, the majority of the population who live there have migrated at least once, and this calls into question the use of the category immigrant in such contexts (Delgado, 1998). From another perspective, Touraine (1997) suggests that we are all immigrants within a globalised economy.

However, as a working definition, in this research project I will use the common 'foreign immigration' category as a starting point and examine later to what extent it is really useful in understanding today's world. Thus 'foreign immigrants' are those people who live in Barcelona and Lisbon metropolitan areas and were born in other territories²⁰, and to whom the Spanish and Portuguese state, respectively, attributed the juridical label of 'foreigner'.

'Foreign immigrants' integration can be understood in a variety of ways, some contradictory. Marie McAndrew and Merton Weinfeld (1996) have noted the existence of over 300 definitions of the term *integration*. In addition, in the scientific literature, the term integration is often allied to several partners (sometimes more than one at the same time). Among others is possible to make reference to absorption,

²⁰ According to the Immigration Permanent Observatory of the Barcelona City Council, during the period 1990-95 some 7.3 percent of the babies born in Barcelona were of mothers born abroad. In Ciutat Vella (the old city) the percentage rises to 23.4 percent (Parés, Pont, 1997). It has to be noted that according to Spanish and Portuguese legislation, local nationality is not acquired directly by *ius solis*. In other words, those who are born in Spain or Portugal do not obtain automatically the nationality of these states if their parents are 'foreigners'.

accommodation, acculturation, adaptation, adjustment, amalgamation, articulation, assimilation, capitalism, citizenship, class, coexistence, cohesion, conflict, connection, contact, culture, disintegration, difference, discrimination, diversity, equality, exchange, exclusion, exploitation, expulsion, flow, fusion, globalisation, inclusion, incorporation, inequality, insertion, interaction, interculturality, living-together, localisation, majority, marginalisation, minority, multiculturalism, nation, nationality, network, participation, particularism, place, plurality, racism, relation, right, segregation, similarity, solidarity, space, state, stigmatisation, stratification, system, time, tolerance, union, unity, universalism and xenophobia.

In order to have a preliminary orientation, it is useful to observe Rainer Bauböck's (1994) classification of the term 'integration' from a liberal point of view (without putting the capitalist system into question). Thus Bauböck, after commenting on how the ideas of pluralism, liberalism, democracy and social welfare are accepted in the majority of European countries, establishes three main implications for immigrants' integration:

-Legal integration: of democracy and liberalism, which means that there can be no integration without a common framework of citizenship, citizenship understood as a set of substantive rights.

-Social integration: when the ideas of liberalism and standards of social welfare integration are combined, the capacity of participation in civil society is possible. This requires a basic minimum of social welfare for everybody in terms of income, education and accommodation; the absence of relations of total dependency in the family or at a workplace; and a common sphere of public social life which is not segregated in ghettos or 'no-go' areas.

-Cultural integration: when liberalism is combined with pluralism, so it must allow for different religious beliefs, political opinions, sexual orientations and cultural affiliations. Religious and cultural practices would have to respect human rights. Pluralistic integration would not only make such differences acceptable but, furthermore, redistribute resources between groups.

In the following pages, an overview of key contributions to immigrants' integration conceptions among the mainstream academic literature is considered, and analysed critically.

1.3.1. Approaches to 'immigrants' integration

As already mentioned, the conceptions and 'implementations' of integration have been diverse. Furthermore, there is a wide literature that has discussed the establishment of a range of immigration policy models, which may explain some characteristics of 'foreign immigrants' integration in capitalist countries (Baldwin-Edwards, Schain, 1994; Banton, 1996; Bauböck, 1994; Brubaker, 1989; Casey, 1996; Castles and Miller, 1993; Entzinger, 1994; Favell, 1998; Lapeyronie, 1992; Melotti, 1993; Rex, 1996; Soysal, 1994; Weil and Crowley, 1994). Some of these works will be discussed in Chapter 2, but first it is necessary to present an illustrative compilation of integration conceptions that, in one way or another, take into account some of Bauböck's suggestions.

During the 1960s, in Britain, Sheila Patterson (1963) published a controversial study, where she defined 'integration' as one of the stages of what she called a process of 'absorption', which will culminate in the 'assimilation' of immigrants²¹. Concretely the previous stages were the following processes:

a) Adaptation/adjustment: adaptation, as re-socialisation and acculturation, on the part of the immigrant group ('adjustment' would be applied to individual change), and acceptance, which would be a more passive process mainly undertaken by members of the arrival society (these two processes do not always proceed side by side).

²¹ A couple of years earlier, in the North American context, Milton M. Gordon (1961: 258-259) had described assimilation as 'a blanket term which in reality covers a multitude of subprocesses'. Gordon suggested that the most crucial distinction was between 'behavioral assimilation' or 'acculturation' (as absorption of the cultural behaviour patterns of the 'host' society, at the same time there would be frequently some modification of the cultural patterns of the immigrant receiving country as well) and, on the other hand, 'structural assimilation' (the entry of immigrants and their descendants into the social groups, organisations, institutional activities, and general civil life of the receiving society and, if on a large scale, implying a high rate of intermarriage).

b) Accommodation: as the achieving of a *modus vivendi* between newcomers and the receiving society, the immigrants establish themselves to an adequate extent economically and residentially, and conform at least outwardly to the new society's basic norms, although there would be a limited acceptance by members of the receiving societies.

c) Integration: as cultural pluralism, and that would apply to groups only: 'A stage in which the incoming group as a whole, through its own organizations, adapts itself to permanent membership of the receiving society in certain major spheres of association, notably in economic and civic life. On its side, the receiving society accepts the group as a lasting entity, differing in certain spheres that do not directly affect the overall life of the society, such as religion, and cultural and family patterns' (Patterson, 1964: 12). Roy Jenkins, British Home Office Secretary in 1966, had almost certainly read Patterson's book when he defined 'integration' in the following terms: 'Not a flattening process of uniformity, but cultural diversity coupled with equal opportunity, in an atmosphere of mutual tolerance' (quoted in Sivandan, 1982).

d) 'Assimilation', the complete adaptation by the immigrants to the values and patterns of the arrival society, taking into account that a complete adaptation is accompanied by complete acceptance²² by the arrival society. A complete assimilation would necessarily imply physical *amalgamation*²³. However, Patterson suggested that the stages overlap or move at different rates in different spheres, do not necessarily occur in a tidy progression, and may involve apparent returns to old values and loyalties.

This 'integration' conception suggested by Patterson, Jenkins and other British authors has been also analysed by John Rex (1996: 135), who does not consider that the society which may be derived from the multi-cultural model is a definite one, but it may be a transitional stage: 'Cultural diversity, of course, does not necessarily imply

²² Patterson suggested that 'assimilation' does not have to be necessarily a one-way process, the arrival society also can move itself towards the newcomers. Thus she agreed with Banton that what is common to the diverse assimilation processes is that all lead to an 'end-product' in terms of full adaptation and acceptance by both groups.

²³ In the 1930s the concept 'amalgamation' described 'the biological union of previously distinct racial groups' (Reuter, 1930: 16). However, according to Ellis Cashmore (1994: 26), '[m]ore recently, the term is reserved to the fusion of cultural groups, whose mixing produces a new and unique culture', and no one absorbs the other. For Cashmore, 'amalgamation' would be contrasted with 'assimilation', the latter describing the process in which one culture tends to dominate and absorb all others into a single culture.

that a society will be permanently divided on a multicultural basis. The general thrust of industrial and post-industrial society is towards secularism and individualism, and, in time, the descendants of immigrants might well prefer to claim their rights as individuals ... For the first few generations, however, the maintenance of separate cultures is a necessary and valuable means of creating a stable society'.

The dichotomy between cultural rights and individual rights, as if they were opposed rights, has been questioned in Britain by Franco Bianchini and Jude Bloomfield (1995: 3) who consider that recognising cultural diversity is a necessary condition for the accomplishment of individual rights.

Emphasising difference and cultural diversity or those features humanbeings have in common is a widespread debate. In Australia, Ellie Vasta (1995), notes that those people that consider highlighting difference as a dangerous characteristic of multiculturalism are the same ones who have difficulties with the idea of 'difference' and who do not pay attention at all to the current effects of uneven power relations. For that author, if the focus is only on what is common, the disadvantage is maintained, because then it is easier to fall in the universalist and liberal arguments that argue that everybody is equal and that social and political exclusion is an individual problem.

However, from other perspectives 'difference' has been criticised as a justification for inequality (García Castaño, 1995). In fact, an excessive emphasis on difference may feed the so-called 'differentialist racism', according to which cultures and peoples are supposedly naturally unable to communicate with each other (Rosoli, 1992). This pure differentialist logic leads to an inferiorisation of victims (Wieviorka, 1992). For this author, in extreme cases this 'pure differentiation' could lead to war.

Furthermore, it has been considered that differentialist discourse constructs uniform groups that become, consequently, opposed to each other. It omits internal differences in every culture, transversal similarities, power relations and the domination of some cultures over others. The homogenisation of several persons under the multi-culturalist label is a constitutive element of multi-culturalism (Müller and Tuckfeld, 1994). However, according to Vasta (1995), this position implies that the central problem is

categorisation, when it is clear that even by refusing 'ethnic' categories racist practices will not disappear, if they are constantly reconstructed by excluding practices.

It has been noted that the capitalist class tries to stop working class united action and it tries to instrumentalise the presence of foreign workers to reach its interests. This is possible through the help of the state, an appropriate legislation, discriminatory practices, the control of the mass media and the hegemony of capitalist ideas in the cultural level (Cinanni, 1976). In this way, multi-culturalism has been accused of masking class conflict and class relations. However, for Vasta, although she also considers the class conflict as important, 'ethnic' characteristics may also be at the core of another kind of conflict between oppressors and oppressed people.

In addition, David Harvey (1996), following Iris Marion Young and other authors, does not suggest to seek 'sameness' but 'similarity'. For Harvey difference never can be thought of as an absolute entity, without any shared relations or attributes. In this way, '[t]o discover the basis of similarity (rather than to presume sameness) is to uncover the basis for alliance formation between seemingly disparate groups ... The radical poststructuralist revolt against that sameness (and its mirror image in some forms of working-class politics) has set the tone of recent debates. But the effect has been to throw out the living baby of political and ethical solidarities and similarities across differences, with the cold bathwater of capitalist-imposed conceptions of universality and sameness' (Harvey, 1996: 360). Thus, Harvey underlines the distinction between, on the one hand, the homogenisation imposed by capitalism, and, on the other, the recognition of similarities that may allow us to construct socio-political alliances against capitalism.

In contrast, according to Danilo Martuccelli (1996), the concept of 'multi-cultural society' has two main interpretations: for some it makes reference to a post-national citizenship model, for others is not a model, but a characteristic of current societies, where diverse 'ethnic' and cultural groups live together.

Closer to the second interpretation than to the first one, in France, in 1991, the governmental Haut Conseil à l'Intégration (HCI), being based on the works of Costa-Lascoux, understood 'integration' as a process where specificity is recognised, where

it is understood that globality is enriched by variety, differences are not denied nor underlined, but stresses are put on similarities, equality of rights and duties.

In this way Alain Touraine (1995) can be also situated, as he was a member of the HCI until 1996, and he emphasises the respect for human rights and equality and warns of dangers of multi-culturalism and the tricks of tolerance. Touraine supports cultural diversification but keeping certain universal principles. However, Touraine (1997) also focuses on culture and the role of the 'subject'. In this sense, he understands 'integration' as an individual process linked mainly to personal identity transformations - related to society, economy, and the school system - which have to lead us towards a multi-cultural society, as long as such processes would be produced among all members of a society, not only among the minorities.

In another context, in Germany, Wolfgang Seifert (1996) differentiates foreign immigrants' integration in the labour market from their social integration. In this way, Seifert studies the social integration of 'old immigrant groups' through data analysis on their knowledge of the German language, the characteristics of their inter-ethnic friendships, their manifested will to reside permanently or not in Germany, and their national self-identification.

On the other hand, in the USA, Myron Weiner (1996), from a more conservative point of view (although with some points in common with Touraine, such as the importance of 'identity' in integration), suggests a group of hypotheses as factors that would facilitate immigrants' integration in the arrival society: a) the possibility of gaining citizenship and the acceptance of the migrants of a new identity; b) naturalisation of all the children of migrants born in the receiving country; c) mobility within the arrival country's labour market; d) the expansion of the 'host' economy; e) the structure of the labour market providing opportunities for migrants who seek them; f) occupational mobility; g) tolerance of the culture and values of the immigrant community by the arrival society; h) diversification of the migrant stream to enable the migrants to build permanent self-contained enclaves where immigrants can employ one another, speak

the same language, and insulate themselves from the larger society²⁴; i) the influx being regarded by the 'host' society as controllable; j) the state not promoting or requiring (although it may permit) separateness in school, employment, or housing. The idea Weiner has in mind is a mixture of, on the one hand, assimilation in some aspects of immigrants' lives, and, on the other, certain tolerance for their insulation in other aspects, but only if this insulation happens in small and diverse minority groups.

From a Southern European country, Italy, Cagiano de Azevedo (1993: 366) suggests a quantitative method to measure integration which is based on a series of variables and indicators that would allow us to compare foreign immigrant population with the rest of society, although cultural variables are barely taken into account. From this point of view, a EUROSTAT research project titled 'Measuring Migrants' Integration' used alternative measures for integration and tested them at the European level. In that project, labour activity (percentage of foreign active population in relation to the total population, and unemployment rates); housing (overcrowding rates: number of persons living together over number of rooms available); and, finally, education, were the variables to assess immigrants' integration (Cagiano de Azevedo, Sannino, 1996).

Another Italian perspective on integration, which also systematises some variables, is from Gianfausto Rosoli (1993), who describes immigrants' integration as a pluri-dimensional process, not homogenous, of process nature, interactive between different actors and forces. Rosoli states that integration is divided into subprocesses: social integration (as the status reached by the immigrants in the economy, consumption, habitat, education); assimilation or acculturation (as behavioural and cultural transformations due to the migration process); and political participation (its higher stage would be their insertion and their national identification). The novelty here is the use of consumption as a variable for social integration and the reference to political participation as a higher stage in the integration process.

²⁴ Here Weiner, in a covert way, appears to show a certain fear among some American academics of the consolidation of the 'hispano' community in the United States as a larger and 'unassimilable' minority.

On the other hand, in Portugal, Leonor Palma Carlos (1993) proposes a debate in cultural terms, in differentiating between assimilation, identified as absorption of minority groups by a cultural majority, and integration, understood as equal opportunities, including the possibility of positive discrimination. However, Carlos considers that, although it is necessary to take into account the specificity of each community, as time goes by it is possible to evolve towards an assimilationist policy.

Furthermore, also from Portugal, Jorge Malheiros (1996), from a culturalist point of view, quotes Shadid to define integration as the participation of ethnic and religious minorities, individually or in groups, in the social structure of the 'host' society, while at the same time they have the opportunity to 'maintain' specific aspects of their culture and identity. Ana de Saint-Maurice (1997), after an overview of several theoretical approaches, concludes that to understand 'ethnic and race relations' it is necessary to comprehend the integration of such groups. And any relations those groups might set up have to be considered in the framework of the power relations that divide oppressors and oppressed, the borders being more or less opaque depending on the point of view. Moreover, borders are variably rigidified according to the characteristics that separate social groups and the differentiated resources that some accumulate, which enables them to make some borders permeable.

From the other side of the Iberian peninsula, in Spain, there is wide a variety of integration conceptions. Some of them are eurocentrist and patronising, as 'integration' is defended as a means of avoiding social tensions in a social context supposedly quiet and pacific prior to the immigrants' arrival, as in the case of Carmen Bel Adell (1994: 122-123)²⁵.

But in the Spanish context there are also other definitions that combine cultural, legal, and social aspects, as in the conception suggested by Álvarez Dorronsoro (1993: 104-105), who differs with Touraine in the importance conceded to juridical issues, and because Dorronsoro gives more importance to labour market opportunities.

²⁵ In this sense, Bel Adell's (1994) proposal may be related to that of Patterson (1963): 'In a homogeneous and peaceable society, as opposed to a conquest society, social relations are harmonious and voluntarily ordered among the great majority of the society's members. Migrant groups entering such a society usually expect and are expected to develop more or less favourable relationships with their hosts. Such terms as 'adjustment', 'accommodation', 'integration' and 'assimilation' represent the goals recognized by both sides" (Patterson, 1963: 9).

From the perspective of African immigrants, the writer resident in Barcelona Inongo-vi-Makomé (1991: 176) has put on the table the following question: 'Imposition is not a good thing. We are integrables, but are the Europeans willing to integrate us?'.

In a similar way, Yasemin N. Soysal (1994) has separated herself from scholars worried about how immigrants adjust to 'host' society culture and institutions. Soysal does not agree with studies that approach integration through a focus on the degree of immigrants' satisfaction with life in the arrival country or on the acquisition of this society's values, their jobs mobility and incomes, the level of education of their children, intermarriage rates, and the relative absence of discrimination: 'Whether they call this process 'assimilation', 'integration', or 'adaptation', such studies share a common approach. They assume an individual level process, and they emphasize the demographic, social, or cultural characteristics of migrants as the major explanatory variables' (Soysal, 1994: 29-30).

Instead, for Soysal, there are two starting points to take into account: on the one hand, the incorporation processes of the foreign population in the 'host' country's polity; on the other hand, the institutional framework of the arrival society. Thus, according to Soysal, foreign population incorporation would be beyond integration (which would be linked to individual processes) and would include collective processes linked to a certain extent to the political participation of the immigrant population. These processes may be produced according to a wide range of patterns: class, gender, age, religion, nationality and ethnic group. From a similar perspective, parallel to Soysal's work, Patrick Ireland (1994) studies immigrant incorporation processes in two French and Swiss cities.

In a similar way, in the Spanish context, Pablo Pumares (1998) notes that in front of what he considers the most common question: 'Are immigrants integrated?' it should be taken into account another question: 'Do we integrate immigrants?'.

Pumares makes reference to 'co-responsibility' and how the 'incorporation' process (a term that he seems to consider as a synonym of 'integration') does not affect just the 'immigrant community', but also the arrival society, which also has to be adapted. He also notes that frequently, when most academics speak about migration they usually think just about the

change of costumes that immigrants may suffer (this fact may have some risks, as it can be used as an excuse for exclusion). However, even from a culturalist perspective, other dimensions that may condition this adaptation have to be taken into account: on the one hand, the socio-economic dimension, which includes income, labour and residence conditions, skills and education level, etc.; on the other hand, the legal dimension, which includes conditions for permanence in the 'host' country, the chance to bring the family, and access to services that may guarantee certain welfare such as health, pensions, unemployment benefit, etc.

Although Pumares underlines the importance of these two questions, he spends most of this recent piece of work on the concept of integration 'to put culture in its place' ('situar la cultura en su lugar') to know what should be its role in immigrants' 'integration'. Thus, Pumares, as a conclusion considers the following:

La cultura no debe ser el eje central del debate, en primer lugar, porque hace perder la perspectiva sobre otros aspectos de mayor calado, como el laboral; y, en segundo lugar, porque tampoco es cuestión de exaltar el mantenimiento a ultranza de las costumbres del inmigrante. La cultura es una forma de adaptación y como tal está sujeta a transformaciones lentas pero continuas, que se aceleran cuando las condiciones del entorno se modifican. Sin embargo, este proceso debe llevar su tiempo para que el inmigrante pueda ir introduciendo esos cambios por sí mismo de forma progresiva, sin llegar a verse despojado de sus valores. Es decir, el inmigrante debe ser el protagonista de dichos cambios, y para ello requiere imprescindiblemente respeto hacia su cultura. Una actitud negativa en este sentido llevará probablemente al inmigrante a un repliegue sobre sí mismo, aislándose en lo posible de la sociedad mayoritaria, o bien a una pérdida de sus puntos de referencia que lo dejen vacío y sin dirección. Por esto es realmente importante la cultura. (Pumares, 1998: 316)

This conceptualisation is close to the one suggested by Rafael Guardo Polo (1994) under the name 'biunivocal adaptation'. It is understood as the process of approximation between the 'host community', which is adapted to the 'new subjects', and these 'newcomers', which would assume the positive values that they consider important for their development as a social group, adjusting it to the framework of coexistence of the arrival society. However, Guardo Polo emphasises slightly more the 'collective' conception of immigration than does Pumares.

In contrast to these positions, Manuel Delgado (1998: 87-142) notes that social integration is the most useful concept to move from plurality to unity, from a plurality of ways of being and saying (cultural plurality) towards the unity of an organised living-together under consensuated instruments to have a common will: 'It is obvious that integration and

difference are complementary, because what is different is already integrated. An individual or community incorporated in society without seeing their principle of differentiation recognised would not be integrated, but they would be *disintegrated*. Thus Delgado suggests several structural and institutionalised modalities of integration: the assumption of common norms by individuals and communities, the market and the economic sphere as unitary frameworks for everybody, the election of one or two *linguas francas* to allow administrative relations and generalised information exchange; and, finally, mobilisation and social action as ways to integrate those culturally different. To establish limits to plurality, the first step suggested by Delgado is to recognise that the majority of confrontations between differentiated communities have not as a basis identity features (as it could be understood due to the false autonomy sometimes given to cultural facts), but opposed interests related to unfair socio-economic situations. In this sense, Delgado seems to agree with Àngels Pascual de Sans (1992: 18-19) when he address the misunderstanding between classism and racism:

Tractar sobre la immigració per aquest camí permet obviar qüestions tan importants com la del classisme en què es basa tot el conjunt de les relacions socials. ... Es podria dir que s'ha començat a parlar intensament de racisme en la mesura que ja no es parla d'exploació. D'aquesta manera, si bé és cert que en les campanyes contra el racisme hi ha molts elements justificats i oportuns, hi ha també massa sovint elements de demagògia i fins i tot es pot pensar en un foment interessat del fenomen que aparentment es denuncia. És una bona cortina de fum. (Pascual de Sans, 1992: 19)

In his latest book, Delgado notes interesting critiques to manipulative positions on 'cultural diversity': for example, 'those who defend, for instance, *cultural mixing* are not fully conscious that they are giving the reason for new forms of racism, in the sense that those who proclaim that cultures have to be mixed are suggesting that cultures may not be mixed. In contrast to this premise, it is necessary to proclaim that it is not necessary to mix cultures, because cultures are always mixing each other and every culture is a mixture' (Delgado, 1998: 127). Furthermore, Delgado suggests a conception of urban societies as if they were kaleidoscopes (any movement of the observer implies an unknown configuration of the present fragments), and he indicates pluri-identity as characteristic of their inhabitants (for urban people it is impossible to limit their daily life to a unique network of loyalties or to an exclusive personal adscription'). However, in analysing the current situation Delgado

does not study these issues beyond the framework of the liberal state²⁶. Thus, for him cultural integration is an objective and it is defined in the following terms:

La integració cultural serà impossible - és obvi - sense uns mínims nivells d'integració socioeconòmica, és a dir de reducció al mínim de les asimetries que imposa un sistema econòmic - el capitalisme i de mercat - que sol tendir a l'abús per obtenir les seves fites ...

No pot haver integració cultural si no es garanteix una integració legal, requisit primer de la qual és que els països que han inventat els Drets Humans siguin capaços d'aplicar-los fronteres endins ... Aquesta igualtat davant la llei està associada a un altre nivell d'inserció, la integració política, que ha d'assegurar una plena accessibilitat de tothom - deixant de banda allò que el fa diferent - a les institucions polítiques que la societat accepta com a instàncies de mediació i arbitratge. ...

És cert que tenen raó aquells que sostenen que els drets humans no són sinó una projecció a nivell còsmic dels principis mateixos de la cultura europea. Aquest pecat original de l'etnocentrisme que inspirà l'elaboració dels drets humans podria, però, alleugerir-se acceptant que la seva concepció no és immutable ... entenent-los com a millorables i objecte de constants renegociacions (Delgado, 1998: 94-102)

But, is taking into account such 'liberal' perspectives sufficient explanation of 'integration'? Are we missing something by only bearing this kind of point of view in mind?

1.3.2 Beyond immigrants' integration in the liberal state: systemic integration and social integration

In the overview presented in the previous pages on approaches to 'immigrants' integration' it has not been possible to observe any differentiation between systemic integration and social integration (nor habitat integration). It is taken for granted that we live in the only possible society (imperfect liberal state societies that follow the supposedly less bad model of all the possible ones), while the possibility of studying the dichotomy of life-world versus system is not taken into account.

However, there are exceptions. Thus, Pascual de Sans (1970) indicated, in the case of foreign workers in Germany, the opposition between systemic integration (understood as identification with capitalist objectives, integration into the consumption society), and class consciousness (and class action). Also in the area of migration studies, considering 'economic capacity' as a social integration factor has been criticised by

²⁶ Citizenship rights brought about by the so-called liberal state are to a great extent the result of working class mobilisation in Europe and other continents (see e.g. Bottomore, 1992). However, even in countries and periods of the 20th century when liberal states have been more developed, some of the key social problems caused by capitalism have not been solved. This is without saying that this 'liberal state' model, although better for human beings than other models, was eurocentrically thought.

Jordi Cardelús and Àngels Pascual de Sans (1979) because, in this case, instead of talking about (social) integration we should talk about solvency, which can be seen as a way of systemic integration, but not social:

En su utilización común, el concepto de integración, sólo se refiere a formas sociales y hábitos de consumo marcados por la capacidad monetaria del individuo o grupo social en cuestión. Más que de integración habría que hablar de solvencia, que es el rasgo que identifica a la persona integrada en el capitalismo, donde las relaciones sociales devienen progresivamente relaciones mercantiles. (Cardelús, Pascual de Sans, 1979: 229).

As it has been noted in section 1.1., social integration is one issue, and systemic integration is another. Both are related to each other, but it is necessary to distinguish between them in order to understand better how the world is. This double approach also allows us to understand other concepts, such as assimilation, until here taken into account only partially. Thus, for instance, Ubaldo Martínez Veiga (1997), while giving some comments on the French case, indicates that immigration has been often related to the French ‘republican’ model, concretely, with the loss of cultural and ethnic characteristics to make ‘citizens’ (republican education, participation in capitalist division of labour). But at the same time, it is also possible to perceive another side of the assimilation process, the incorporation of immigrants in the salaried labour force, detaching them from the means of production:

Si al fenómeno del déficit demográfico añadimos que de lo que se trata es de conseguir una fuerza de trabajo que responde a las necesidades del Estado capitalista, podemos comprender como esta política asimilacionista tiene fundamento en otros elementos que no son únicamente las ideas republicanas. (Martínez Veiga, 1997: 262)

A significant part of the immigrant population have their origin in areas where the capitalist system is still not completely dominant (some rural areas, for example), thus, in arriving in an urban context integrated into capitalism, they need to be assimilated in values, ways of being and thinking more appropriated for the system. Their life-world is colonised by the system.

In indicating the need to go beyond the analysis of the ‘liberal’ state as something taken for granted, I am not denying the importance and advances that such a model may represent in relation to other models. However, it is necessary to underline that a proper ‘state of rights’ cannot be fulfilled under capitalism. In other words, even the respect for basic human rights (curiously a Western capitalist country’s creation in a

moment when there was a supposedly alternative system) and the existence of capitalism are incompatible facts. This is a vision suggested by the dichotomy of lifeworld versus capitalist system.

The analysis of the 'integration' has ended up uncovering a first approach to the position of state and capital in relation to society. In order to answer the key question of this thesis - how are capital, governments and social movements organised in the processes of integration and resistance that affect 'foreign immigration' in Barcelona and Lisbon? - is necessary to approach how capital, governments and social organisations and movements are today in Western countries. The chapters 2 and 3 are devoted to such task.

2. State, integration, class struggles, and international migration.

“En este mundo parado sobre su cabeza, el dinero es el único al que nadie expulsa y al que nadie destrata por extranjero. Los humanos, en cambio, somos siempre sospechosos y corremos el riesgo de ser tratados peor que una peste invasora”

(Eduardo Galeano, *La Jornada*, 11-3-1998)

In a previous chapter, the role of governments in the conceding of citizenship rights has been noted. This is a key issue in the understanding of governmental policies, among them those specially designed for ‘foreign immigrants’ or those that affect them as residents in the ‘host’ country. Thus this chapter will examine the main debates on ‘the state’, in relation to capital, integration, citizenship and class struggle.

As John Holloway (1995) notes, usually the state is taken as a basic, and largely unquestioned, category. And if the state is taken as the starting point for analysis, then the world (in so far as it appears at all) appears as the sum of nation-states. Trends or developments which go beyond the borders of one state are discussed either in terms of inter-state relations or in terms of analogy (i.e. comparative politics). Both approaches start from the assumption that states are separated from each other, and, according to Holloway, to reach a satisfactory understanding of the changes taking place at the moment we need to go beyond the category of ‘the state’, or rather we need to go beyond the assumption of the separateness of the different states to find a way of discussing their unity. However, before doing that, it will be necessary to pay attention to several approaches to the state in order to understand its relevance better.

2.1 The state, citizenship rights, class and international immigration in the rise and fall of Fordist Western Europe

Influenced by T.H. Marshall, Tom Bottomore (1992) considered that it is not enough to conceive the development of substantive citizenship (as a body of civil, political and social rights 'given' by the state) in abstract or teleological terms, because that process was a result of a class struggle that, at the immediate end of the Second World War in north-western European countries, led to a kind of 'class compromise'.

According to Bottomore this 'compromise', in north-western Europe, depended on the relative strength and the political orientations of different classes, and also to a large extent on the exceptionally high rates of economic growth during the period.

In a similar way on this issue, Toni Negri (1994: 89) has considered that that class compromise was made concrete in 'fordist' constitutions or labourist welfare-state constitutions:

Constitutions may have differed more or less in their forms, but the 'material constitution' - the basic convention covering the sharing out of powers and counter-powers, of work and income, of rights and freedoms - was substantially homogeneous. The national bourgeoisies renounced fascism and guaranteed their powers of exploitation within a system of sharing-out of national income which - reckoning on a context of continuous growth - made possible the construction of a welfare system for the national working class. For its part, the working class renounced revolution.

However, after three decades of increasing substantive rights for the working class in North-Western European countries, in the late 60s the state built on the Fordist constitution goes into crisis: the subjects of the original constitutional accord in effect undergo a change. On the one hand, the various bourgeoisies become internationalised, basing their power on the financial transformation of capital ..., on the other, the industrial working class (in the wake of radical transformations in the mode of production - victory of the automation of industrial labour and the computerisation of social labour) transforms its own cultural, social and political identity.

During the 70s the socio-political and economical situation in North Western Europe changed and it had important effects on the 'class structure' and in the social and political outlook of different classes (Bottomore, 1992):

- a) The numbers of the manual working class diminished and the numbers of those employed in white-collar service occupations increased, as a product of a deindustrialisation process
- b) There was a rise of the 'affluent worker' and the 'embourgeoisement' of the working class
- c) There were changes in political and social attitudes from a more collectivist to a more individualistic social outlook: by the early 1970s a consensus opinion was established on the basis of the welfare state, a mixed economy and a democratic political system. In some countries such as Britain, during the late 1970s and 1980s the more prosperous workers, as well as a considerable part of the middle class, became as much or more concerned about inflation, interest rates and levels of personal taxation as about the welfare state or the expansion of public ownership. Thus owning a mortgage often became a sign of economic integration, but also of political conservatism and ideological integration. In addition, there was a sense of alienation experienced by the individual confronting large bureaucracies could have been influential in bringing about a change towards a more individualistic attitude (Bottomore, 1992). In the search for a balance between efficient administration and for the individual as a consumer of public services, some NGOs have gained a greater involvement in services provision.

During these decades, the so-called 'capitalist class' also suffered crucial transformations that led to an increasing internationalisation and to the triumph of the so-called neoliberal project. According to Bottomore (1989), the capitalist class (although it has significant sectional, regional and ethnic divisions) is currently world-wide dominant economically, politically and culturally. Economically: they have the juridical or 'effective' ownership of the major productive resources of society, but this possession has become more impersonal in the last decades. Politically, although classes are extremely variable in their capacity to act collectively, the capitalist class can be a more effective collective actor than other classes, because it forms something close to an 'organised minority' in which there is a relatively high degree of social and political interaction among the members (through family connections and educational experience for example) and because it controls huge resources, both economical and cultural, for co-ordinating action and implementing decisions. Culturally, the control of

the mass media by a few selected and private hands is a key instance of such a dominance.

Thus the capitalist class, for Bottomore (1989: 12) would ensure 'the reproduction of capitalist relations of production and hence the private accumulation of capital, and at the same time the reproduction of political and cultural institutions which are favourable to its rule'. It is worth bearing this in mind in understanding the expansion of neoliberalism better. After the Second World War some capitalist class factions were not pleased with the 'class compromise' negotiated, thus they re-started to be organised in societies, foundations and clubs, as for instance the Mont Pelerin Society (founded by the economist von Hayek in 1947), and the Heritage Foundation (whose president was Ed Faulner Jr, also treasurer of the Mont Pelerin Society) in order to challenge the situation, and to obtain a world-wide 'free-market'. One of the key locations of that organisation process was Chicago, where a 'productive' alliance between economists-researchers such as Milton Friedman and local bankers looking for international projection such as Beryl Sprinkler, took place. Later they and others became known as the Chicago Boys.

Thus, as Kees van der Pijl (1989) notes, it was not just the crisis of Keynesianism as a valid perspective to provide solutions to the economic problems of enriched capitalist countries, but the failure of the proposals promoted by the Trilateral Commission, and the rise of a neoliberal organised capitalist faction that explains the triumph of neoliberalism. Key moments were in 1979-80, when the 'neoliberal recipes' had been bloodily tested in Chile (Pinochet's economic policy was designed and implemented by the Chicago Boys and their pupils) and the expansion of the guerrillas in Latin America and the invasion of Afghanistan by the USSR were still signs of the existence of a 'Cold War'. The political translation of that neoliberal victory were the electoral triumphs of Thatcher in the UK and Reagan in the USA in those years. In 1981 the powerful Mont Pelerin Society was composed of 600 members recruited from the business and economist community, acting as a lobby and strategy cabinet.

At a theoretical level, following Francisco José Soares Teixeira (1996), neoliberalism went back to the classical thesis that the market is the only institution able to rationally

co-ordinate any social problem. Even if its origin is a critique to State intervention in Europe and North America, the global character of neoliberalism is, in part, due to the increasing process of international synchronisation of the industrial cycle, in such a way that conjunctural movements of capital accumulation may affect any country. For that philosopher, this process reaches its zenith with financial globalisation, which creates a unique money market, virtually free of national government intervention. This historical context when neoliberalism was born made possible the transformation of the neoliberal theory in a theory with universal practical involvement. However, such practice has uneven developments across the world; different times and places mean different neoliberal forms.

And while these processes were taking place, what was 'the role' of the state? As Simon Clarke (1991) has noted, during the 1960s the dominant theories of the state on the left were the 'orthodox Marxist theory of State Monopoly Capitalism' and the 'social democratic theory of the state'. The orthodox one was based on an immediate identification of the state with the interests of capital, and the argument was that the socialisation of production, and the associated concentration and centralisation of capital had forced the state to take on many of the functions of capital, in an attempt to avert an economic crisis and to stabilise the class struggle. Thus the system of money and credit, the tax system, nationalisation, instruments of planning, and state civil and military expenditure are all used to maintain capital accumulation.

The social democratic theory focused on the institutional separation of the state from the economy, and so stressed the 'autonomy' of the state as a political institution. This analytical separation of the 'political' from the 'economic' was based on a radical separation of production from distribution. The class character of the state was determined not by its intervention in production but by its relation to distribution, which it could modify primarily through its taxation and expenditure policies. Thus a social democratic government could, in principle, use the instruments of state power to counter-balance the economic power of capital, reconciling the economic efficiency of the capitalist mode of production with an equitable system of distribution.

The inadequacy of these theories of the state became increasingly manifest through the 1960s. Simon Clarke suggests that the growth of the welfare state and the election of social democratic governments undermined the crude identification of the state with the interests of monopoly capital. Furthermore, the growing internationalisation of capital undermined the identification of the nation state with the interests of national capital. On the other hand, the limited impact of the welfare state on problems of poverty, bad housing, and ill health, the emerging economic problems of monetary and financial instability, and the failure of social democratic governments effectively to challenge the power and interests of capital, undermined the optimism of the social democratic view. Thus if the theory of state monopoly capitalism underestimated the autonomy of the state, the social democratic theory underestimated the limits of that autonomy. It was clear that the state could not be reduced to an *instrument* of the capitalist class, but neither could it be seen as the neutral terrain of the class struggle (Clarke, 1991).

During the 1970s, the debate on the state was crucial in theoretical and political terms across north-western Europe, and its implications are useful as a context for current immigration issues. In fact, it was during the 1970s that, after years of immigration to fill mainly industrial jobs in those countries, the current restrictive governmental immigration policies started to be implemented (see, for example Layton-Henry, 1990; Ireland, 1994; Castles, Miles, 1993; Soysal, 1994)²⁷ and which later inspired the southern European policies. Secondly, it was during those years as well that the so-called 'new' social movements arose in the public arena (Castells, 1983; Melucci, 1989; Touraine, 1985), which included groups promoting pro-immigrants' rights. Moreover, it was then that trade unions and left-wing political parties became more sensitive to immigration issues (López García, 1993; Wrench and Virdee, 1995).

According to Clarke (1991: 5-69), the main characters of the aforementioned debates on the state were based in Germany, France and Britain, and the main outcomes of those debates can be summarised taking into account a battery of conferences

²⁷ However, borders closing to immigration was not new in that geographical context. For instance, in the United Kingdom, the 1905 Aliens Act was designed primarily to restrict Jewish immigration from Eastern Europe (Sibley, 1995).

organised during 1976 and 1977, where the Conference of Socialist Economists (CSE) debates on the state were focused on a critical examination of the theories of the state proposed by Poulantzas and emerging from the German 'state derivation' debate. At the end, there were two main irreconcilable approaches, which can be best seen in their different analyses of the relationship between the working class and the state (Clarke, 1991).

2.1.1 The regulation school and the end of Fordism

For Hirsch's structural-functionalist account, and more broadly for both the Frankfurt School and for the French Regulation Theorists, the working class has been incorporated into the structure of the 'fordist security state' through the 'mass integrative apparatuses' of trades unions and social democratic parties, so that the class struggle is displaced onto the marginalised strata and the 'new social movements' whose aspirations cannot be met by traditional forms of class politics. For Clarke, the new social movements were the modern version of Lenin's vanguard, forging an alliance with the marginalised, excluded and dispossessed in order to lead the struggle for liberation on behalf of all humanity. However, as it became clear that the mass of humanity was not following the lead of the vanguard, despite the deepening crisis of the Keynesian Welfare State, divisions opened up in the politics of the new social movements in the 1980s.

According to Clarke, for the Frankfurt School (including Habermas and Offe), the capitalist state form was characterised in Weberian terms as a rational bureaucratic form of domination, to be explained not primarily in terms of the interests it served, or the economic functions it performed, but in terms of its functions as a specifically political institution, which were to maintain the stability of the whole social system. On the other hand, the wider social system was characterised in Marxist terms as a class society, based on economic exploitation, so that the 'social democracy' and the 'Keynesian Welfare State' were seen as a more or less successful attempt to secure the *social and political integration* of the working class - through *channelling*, filtering and reformulating economic, social and political demands - in order to defuse destabilising economic, social and political conflicts. According to this approach the

state is 'autonomous', but it is not 'neutral' (it is the state which determines whose interests it will represent). It has two main functions, capitalist 'accumulation' and 'legitimisation', that correspond to a form of administration and a form of domination. However, during the 1980s, Offe revised his views, anticipating the end of Keynesian social democracy and legitimising a politics which sought to confront neither the power of capital nor the power of the state, but which sought the 'dissolution of the state' through the 'democratisation of civil society'.

By contrast, Regulation Theory is a conceptual framework which stresses the interdependence of political and economic processes developed by French economists such as Boyer and Lipietz, since the 1970s. According to the geographer Joe Painter (1995), its central argument is that capitalist economic growth and stability depend on wider social, cultural, and political practices and processes, including, although not limited to, the state.

Regulation theory stresses that it is not inevitable that the 'appropriate' regulatory mechanisms will emerge. It thus avoids the problems of functionalism in saying that the character of the state must be understood (at least in part) in terms of its *own* history, rather than simply in terms of its consequences for capitalism.

In that history, the form of the state is both an object of, and an arena for, social struggle and conflict. According to regulation theory those conflicts, which are endemic in any complex society, may from time to time end in a kind of truce or 'grand compromise' between at least some of the parties ... It is possible, but not inevitable, that the institutions and mechanisms of that compromise may operate in such a way as to promote stable and reasonably long-lasting economic prosperity, at least for the parties of the compromise. When this happens, and it is likely that it is quite rare, regulation theorists refer to the compromise as a 'mode of regulation'.

According to regulation theory, the period of dominance of the corporate welfare state was a mode of regulation, or rather a series of modes of regulation, one for each state. ... the fate of the welfare state is linked to the failure of the Fordist mode of regulation ... [which] has been described by Lipietz as a kind of historical compromise between capital and labor in the advanced capitalist countries. (Painter, 1995: 138-139)

In relation to immigration issues during the Welfare State, Painter (1995), from the regulation perspective, focuses on a critique of the discrimination that 'black people' and women suffered in terms of welfare benefits. But the end of Fordism has not improved their situation; on the contrary, racist immigration policies have become tougher:

Because states in advanced capitalist countries are losing their capacity to influence economic events and the overall productiveness of their national economies, they are policing the distribution of that which is produced ever more closely. Since the 1970s there has been a continual tightening up on immigration and citizenship policy (often along racist lines) and a shift to the means testing and 'targetting' of social benefits. These trends fit well with the

tendencies to totalitarianism ... In sum, states are trying to deal with the failure of earlier regulatory mechanisms and their consequent legitimisation. In the future the aim might be to secure legitimisation not around the state's ability to plan and manage the economy but around its control over who has access to a smaller economic cake. (Painter, 1995: 142-143)

For Celso Frederico (1996), although the regulation school has a liberal bias, this was the first approach to study in depth the transformations in the capitalist mode of production when the fordist crisis took place.

2.1.2. The class struggle approach, Gramsci and forms

On the other hand, according to the 'class struggle' account proposed by the CSE, as Clarke (1991: 58) notes, the organised working class has a contradictory relationship to the 'welfare state': On the one hand, the political mobilisation of the working class forces the state to respond to its material aspirations. On the other hand, the 'welfare state' can never meet the needs of the working class because, however generous may be the welfare benefits provided, however high might be the levels of wages obtained, such provision remains conditional on the subordination of the working class to the alienated forms of wage labour and of the capitalist state.

This dual approach to the state had already been noted by Gramsci: it is not just repression (or control, coercion, etc.), but also 'prize-giving'²⁸ that the state provides. Antonio Gramsci's (1930-35: 246-247) dual approach to 'the Law' is illustrative:

If every State tends to create and maintain a certain type of civilisation and of citizen (and hence of collective life and of individual relations), and to eliminate certain customs and attitudes and to disseminate others, then the Law will be its instrument for this purpose (together with the school system, and other institutions and activities). ... The Law is the repressive and negative aspect of the entire positive, civilising activity undertaken by the State. The 'prize-giving' activities of individuals and groups, etc., must also be incorporated in the conception of the Law; praiseworthy and meritorious activity is rewarded, just as criminal actions are punished (and punished in original ways, bringing in 'public opinion' as a form of sanction).²⁹

In order to understand the existence of the 'welfare state' (which Gramsci could not experience properly), however, it is necessary to take into account a key characteristic of the bourgeois class, that differentiates it from feudal classes. In Gramsci's words:

²⁸ "*premiatrici*".

²⁹ This reference to the punishment role of 'public opinion' has to be taken into account in understanding the role of TV and mass media in today's society.

...previous ruling classes were essentially conservative in the sense that they did not tend to construct an organic passage from the other classes into their own, i.e. to enlarge their class sphere 'technically' and ideologically: their conception was that of a closed caste. The bourgeois class poses itself as an organism in continuous movement, capable of *absorbing* the entire society, *assimilating* it to its own cultural and economic level. The entire function of the State has been transformed; the State has become an 'educator', etc.

How this process comes to a halt, and the conception of the State as pure force is returned to, etc. The bourgeois class is 'saturated': it not only does not expand - it starts to *desintegrate*; it not only does not assimilate new elements, it loses part of itself (or at least its losses are enormously more numerous than its assimilations) (Gramsci, 1930-35: 260) [italics are mine].

Thus fordism in enriched capitalist countries (or regions) can be seen as a process of working class 'enbourgeoisment', a process through which a significant part of the working class became - in a sense, if we pay attention to the whole picture (this means the world) - part of an enlarged 'bourgeois class'. That 'assimilation' or 'absorption' can be seen as a result of class struggle, a consequence of the fear of the bourgeois class to lose terrain to the working class. Accordingly, a factor to explain the fall of fordism can be, in a sense, the 'saturation' of what became an enlarged 'bourgeois class', which included fractions of groups that had been working class.

However, the CSE authors did not divide the working class into two mutually exclusive categories, the 'incorporated' and the 'marginalised', because for them every individual worker and every section of the working class enjoys a contradictory relationship with the capitalist state. While the *substantive benefits* offered draw the working class into a positive relationship with the state, the *form* through which such benefits are provided ensures that that relationship is always antagonistic. According to Clarke (1991), this is the central contradiction of the welfare state, which is reflected in the forms of class struggle characteristic of the modern welfare state:

The division between absorption into and struggle against the state, between the struggle over the *content* and the struggle over the *form* of collective provision, is not a division between two sections of the working class, it is a division which marks the relationship of every worker and group of workers to the state, so that every struggle is a struggle 'in and against the state'.

The implication of this analysis is that the struggle over the form of the state cannot be disassociated from the struggle over the content of state activity. The political priority is not to reject traditional class politics as reformist, in favour of an absorption into the politics of the 'new social movements', it is to develop the progressive potential inherent in all forms of class struggle, by developing new forms of class politics which could challenge the alienated forms of capitalist power. The need is to integrate content and form, struggles in and against the state, by building on popular aspirations and popular frustrations to create new forms of class organisation and new forms of class struggle. The task is not to reject class politics, but to broaden it. (Clarke, 1991: 58-59)

In this way, John Holloway (1980/1991) had identified the fundamental importance of the concept of 'form': Marx's critique of political economy sought to establish that the economic categories expressed the superficial independence of the fragmented forms in which capitalist social relations are expressed in everyday experience. According to Holloway and Clarke, the reproduction of capitalist social relations of production is only achieved through a class struggle in which their reproduction is always in doubt. In this sense *capitalist social relations of production can never be seen as a structure, but only as a permanent process of crisis-and-restructuring*. Thus for Holloway capitalist reproduction is just achieved through the 'form-processing' of social activity:

The basic moment of the state form is identified with the generalisation of commodity production, the separation of economic and political relations (or, more accurately, the constitution of complementary forms of the social relations of production as political and economic), following from the constitution of social beings as individual property owners and citizens. (Clarke, 1991: 63)

Of course, this has also happened in Spain. Studies carried out by Andrés Bilbao (1991, 1993) show that the working class, as a political category, has been fragmented and de-structured. This fragmentation and consequent de-structuration of the working class was thus done mainly through the rule of law (including economic policies). A growing set of juridical categories have been created for workers (several different types of contracts have arisen in recent years, for example), which has made it difficult for workers to find interests in common. But it has been not just juridical rules which have led to a de-structuration. As Antonio Gramsci (1930-35: 242) noted, the concept of 'Law'

has to be extended to include those activities which are at present classified as 'legally neutral', and which belong to the domain of civil society; the latter operates without 'sanctions' or compulsory 'obligations', but nevertheless exerts a collective pressure and obtains objective results in the form of an evolution of customs, ways of thinking and acting, morality, etc.

Thus it is not possible to understand the 'state' just as 'government', as it will be shown in Chapter 3, and as Gramsci understands it, 'State is the entire complex of practical and theoretical activities with which the ruling class not only justifies and maintains its dominance, but manages to win the active consent of those over whom it rules' (p. 244). This is particularly relevant today, when the governments are 'subcontracting' and 'delegating' an increasing amount of activities to 'private' companies and NGOs, especially in the services sector.

These and other factors lead to a certain lack of confidence in socio-political mobilisation and in democracy, among the working class, as a way of improving current conditions. Bilbao has noted that:

...citizen and worker are prototypes of different social relations. In this context, the destructurement of the working class is its dissolution in an order of citizens. However, the citizen is not the present of a past constituted by workers. In other words, the de-structurement of the working class is not the description of an historical process, instead it is the description of the distance between a metaphor - the society where the working class exists - and the real support of this metaphor: the society of citizens. (Bilbao, 1993: 37-38; translation is mine)

Following research³⁰ carried out in 1989 in several Spanish locations, Andrés Bilbao (1993: 173) considers that, to find the connection between political order, integration in the social order and social consciousness, one has to ask why the 'working class', whom - as he found - in general do not agree with the existing order, do not put that order into question by mobilisation. In the different interviews, references to values such as democracy, freedom, market, etc. do not appear. These references are substituted by references to the social order in terms of natural order. It is in this acceptance of the social order as natural order that the submission to the political order is based. It is not its ideological qualification - Bilbao concludes - that legitimises order, but that it is perceived as the only one possible.

However, one point that Holloway and Clarke (1991) underline is that there is nothing natural about these forms of individuality (i.e. citizen, etc.). Thus 'individualisation' may be the basic moment of the state form, but the specific modes of such individualisation may change, as a result of changing forms of social relations in the course of the historical development of the class struggle and, in particular, of the form of the state. Beside this tendency to individualisation,

...the activity of the state, and the growth of state intervention, brings the state into contact with people not as abstract individuals, but as members of social classes. Nevertheless this relationship does not appear immediately as such, but appears as a relationship to individuals as 'owners of different revenue sources', as individual commodity owners whose social identity is defined by

³⁰ In his fieldwork, 64 interviews were carried out with salaried workers distributed in 4 categories: workers with stable work and that passed through the segmentation process without losing the job and keeping their salary conditions; individuals that have lost the job and integrated with a collective of long-term unemployed; people who lost their job and were reintegrated in the labour market with casual jobs; and, finally, those that because of age have been incorporated for the first time in the labour market as unemployed with casual jobs.

the physical or functional properties of the commodity they own: 'land', 'labour', 'money', 'capital', 'industry'. Thus the changing modes of 'collectivisation' are not opposed to the process of individualisation. Individualisation and collectivisation are two sides of the struggle to decompose and to recompose class relations. It would be equally wrong to see one aspect of this struggle as economic and the other as political, for the struggle over the decomposition and recomposition of the collective labourer is unavoidably and inseparably both an economic and political struggle ... the state apparatus reproduces and reinforces the fragmentation of social existence, dealing with the individual not as a concrete social being but variously as a citizen, tenant, welfare claimant, voter, motorist, pedestrian, producer, consumer, taxpayer, etc. (Clarke, 1991: 63-64)

How are all these trends related to immigration policies? There is little literature that deals with such issues: the 'use' of the category 'foreigner' or 'immigrant' in that process of fragmentation has not deserved much research. Usually the focus of researches on immigration policies has been on models of 'integration' according to 'culturalist' or 'national' patterns or models, or studies of concrete administrative procedures (like the creation or not of special bodies for immigrants). In the following pages an approach to such studies is undertaken.

2.1.3 International migrations and forms of government

In this sense, according to Rogers Brubaker (1989), government immigration policies can be very variable between states constituted by immigration and states in which immigration has been incidental to nation building. However, all these immigration or 'integration' policies have been simplified in several models. For Lapeyronnie (1992) there are two main integration models, although other authors consider three main (Banton, 1996; Bauböck, 1994; Entzinger, 1994; Melotti, 1993; Rex, 1996), and some suggest four (Castles and Miller, 1993; Baldwin-Edwards and Schain, 1994; Casey, 1996). Thus, following the latter authors, the models of immigration policies are as follows:

a) The 'multi-cultural' model, which is based on respect for cultural differences and is defined to favour the integration of the population. At the same time, the immigrants are given political rights such as citizenship. This is the case in Australia, Canada and Sweden, although this model also has some influence in Great Britain, Netherlands and the United States. It is a model designed to respect the 'identity' of the immigrants and the minorities (Castles and Miller, 1993). However, the multi-cultural model has

received several criticisms. For García Castaño (1995), the difference is a construction to justify the inequality in a world in which condition is the diversity.

b) In some European states, integration is thought of in individual terms and the cultural and ethnic differences are sacrificed to defend the idea of equality. In this case, which can be identified with France, the mix of populations leads to a failure to recognise racial discriminations and to the cultural exclusion of the minorities, often considered as simple traditional folklore. This model has been called ‘republican’ by several authors (Baldwin-Edwards and Schain, 1994; Banton, 1996; Casey, 1996; Castles and Miller, 1993), and has the *ius solis* (citizenship of the territory of birth) as a norm, so that obtaining nationality would be relatively easy. This model is also called ‘universalist’ and some of the arguments in its defence are proposed by critics of multiculturalism. However, in the last decade, French legislation on obtaining citizenship has been hardened by a reform of the *Code de Nationalité* (Castles and Miller, 1993; Weil and Crowley, 1994; SOPEMI, 1995). This fact put into question one of the main bases of this model; the events of the summer of 1996 with the *sans papiers* are other examples of its weakness. On another hand, in some French local spaces, the management of cultural diversity has some multi-culturalist influence.

c) A third model is described by Castles and Miller (1993) as ‘exclusionist’. This model has been characterised by some policies that have as their objective the special limitation of family reunion, the concession of a permanent status of residence, and very rigid immigration laws and access to nationality. This model is represented by the cases of Switzerland, Belgium and Germany³¹. In all these cases, foreign residents are considered as members of civil society (as workers, tax-payers, parents, etc.) but they have a lot of difficulties in becoming national citizens and participating in the state. Melotti (1993) defines this situation with a quotation from the anthropologist Christian Giordano: ‘Ne integrazione, ne segregazione’; the immigration policy is oriented to favour the temporality of the presence of immigrants and to prevent their settlement. Certain peculiarities of the German case lead one to consider it as ‘ethnic-nationalist’. In this country the rule is *ius sanguinis*, so that nationality is only obtained by those that have ‘blood bonds’ (Castles and Miller, 1993; Baldwin-Edwards and Schain, 1994; Casey, 1996). Following this path, in 1993, Greece restricted access to

³¹ In the latter case a significant change seemed possible after the SPD-Green party coalition was elected for federal government, but it has not materialised so far.

nationality to foreigners in general, while providing nationality to all those of 'Greek ethnic origin' who were living abroad. However, in Belgium and Germany some legislation has been reformed to facilitate access to nationality for some foreigners - in the Belgian case to the so-called 'third generation' (SOPEMI, 1995).

d) Finally, there is the 'imperial model' that allows the integration of diverse peoples in multi-ethnic empires, such as the British, the Ottoman and the Austro-Hungarian, while at the same time expressing the domination of one group. As Castles and Miller (1993) have noted, this model, although it is an old one, could be useful to uncover the actual domination of one ethnic group over another one, or of one nationality over another.

Nevertheless, although these models have strong roots in some academic spheres, some objections have been raised, and even they have been considered as failed (Melotti, 1993). Causes are diverse: on the one hand, these models can affect in a different way foreign immigrants according to, for instance, their nationality of origin, their gender or their previous socio-economic status. On the other hand, these models are founded in the 'nation-state', which is in 'crisis' and has been losing in the last years some of its previous functions (Habermas, 1979; Harvey, 1996) because of the development of the world-market and the increasing 'financial globalisation' of the economy. However, following Pierre Bourdieu (1998) it is necessary to differentiate two different 'crises': the one that affects the 'national' conception of the state, and the other, that is related to 'universal' social benefits³².

Furthermore, according to a recent comparative study between the British and the French cases, the theoretical differences between these two models of integration are closer in practice: 'There is abundant Franco-British common ground behind the smoke of ideological battle' (Weil and Crowley, 1994: 124). In this sense, the more similar practices could be due to the existence of similar problems (perhaps related to the capitalist mode of production) and an advance of the Common European policy on immigration, the OECD suggestions, and the recommendations of the ILO or other

³² 'Cette defense de l'État ne s'inspire pas d'un nationalisme. Si l'on peut lutter contre l'État national, il faut défendre les fonctions 'universelles' qu'il remplit et qui peuvent être remplies aussi bien, sinon mieux, par un État supranational.' (Bourdieu, 1998: 47).

international organisations. However, for other authors, the reason for an increase in similarities in such policies and problems is the current general 'economic crisis', and they consider the models (the three former ones) as an acceptable working hypothesis (SOPEMI, 1995).

Spain and Portugal develop a mixture of elements extracted from such models, with variations at local and regional level. As it will be developed in Chapter 6, in both countries *ius sanguis* is underlined, although children of foreigners can obtain national citizenship if they are born in Spain and Portugal and reside there for a number of years. Thus a 'ius domicili' is also implemented. However, complex and slow bureaucratic procedures often make difficult the fulfilment of such rights.

Soysal (1994), besides these models, takes into account some of the features signalled above and has tried to go beyond, and suggests four 'Membership Models and Incorporation Patterns' (which Soysal calls 'incorporation' to the macro-level process whereby a 'guest-worker' or immigrant population become part of the polity of the 'host' country), mainly defined by two dimensions: the legitimise locus of action and authority in a polity (some polities locate more authority in the state, others within society, in individuals or corporate groups); and the organisational configuration, which specifies the locus of organisational resources and the extent of organisational capacities. The models suggested by Soysal are called corporatist, liberal, statist and fragmental.

However, Soysal (1994: 40) underlines that 'membership models are intended not as categorical totalities but as frameworks within which to situate the particularities of state incorporation regimes and policies'. In any case, the focus of all the aforementioned models and patterns is not on the key processes of social fragmentation and economic restructuring that affect enriched capitalist countries as a whole, instead those authors try to construct models based on administrative nation-state characteristics.

It is necessary to go beyond these forms of immigration policies, and to understand what they have in common. In the following pages an approach to global capital and its relation to state formation and reproduction processes is undertaken.

2.2. Global capital and the state

In the last two decades, there has been a growing awareness of questions such as 'globalisation' and its impact on the 'nation-state' and governments. International migration can be linked to such processes, but how is this related to the disappearance of borders for capital and the reduction of 'welfare-state' provisions with transnational migrations? Before finding an answer to this question it is necessary to go beyond the category of 'the state'. According to John Holloway's (1995: 119-121) each state proclaims its own separateness from other states, and thus it is necessary to dissolve the state as a category in order to understand the state not as a thing in itself, but as a social form, a form of social relations. The state then is understood as a rigidified (or 'fetishised', in Marx's terms) form of social relations: it is a relation between people which does not appear to be a relation between people, a social relation which exists in the form of something external to social relations. In this way Holloway notes the starting point for understanding the unity between states: all are rigidified, apparently autonomous forms of social relations. Seeing the state as a form of social relations means that the development of the state can only be understood as a moment of the development of the totality of social relations, which is a part of the development of society under capitalist rule. As a form of capitalist social relations, state's existence depends on the reproduction of those relations. However, it cannot be assumed, in functionalist fashion, either that everything that the state does will be necessarily be in the interests of capital, nor that the state can achieve what is necessary to secure the reproduction of 'capitalist society'³³.

³³ If the capitalist logic was everywhere, society would disappear. Thus the expression 'capitalist society' is a contradictory one. Mrs. Thatcher, when neoliberalism seemed to be unstoppable, said that

The state as today exists appears in a moment of history, after feudalism arrived to an end the exploiter could move freely as its wealth became money:

The 'totality of capitalist social relations' is a global (world-wide) totality. Capital, by its nature, knows no spatial bounds. The 'freedom' of the worker which distinguishes capitalism from earlier forms of class exploitation is at the same time the freedom (in a much more real sense) of the exploiter. When serfs freed themselves from feudal bondage, they became free to wander wherever they would in search of means of survival: no longer tied to a particular place of exploitation, they could go and be exploited wherever they chose, providing they could find an exploiter willing to accept them. By the same token, the lord was no longer tied to exploiting the serfs he had inherited, but could convert his wealth into money and use the money as capital to benefit from the exploitation of workers in any part of the world. ... Relations of exploitation exist in space since people exist in space, but the space is undefined and constantly changing. The absolute contingency of space is epitomised in the existence of capital as money. Whenever money capital moves (i.e. constantly), the spatial pattern of the relations between capital and labour changes). (Holloway, 1995: 123)

On this latter point, however, some objections can be noted. As David Harvey (1996) notes, although it seems that transnational capital have scarce respect for geography today due to weakening spatial barriers which 'open the whole world as its profitable oyster', this reduction of spatial borders has an equally powerful opposite effect: 'small-scale and finely graded differences between the quality of places become even more important' (see section 2.3 on the local state). However, Holloway is clear in uncovering false notions under the name of 'globalisation':

The global nature of capitalist social relations is thus not the result of the recent 'internationalisation' or 'globalisation' of capital, both concepts which imply a moving out from a historically and logically prior national society. Rather, it is inherent in the nature of the capitalist relation of exploitation as a relation, mediated through money, between free worker and free capitalist, a relation freed from spatial constraint. The aspatial, global nature of capitalist social relations has been a central feature of capitalist development since its bloody birth in conquest and piracy.

The political, then, as a moment of the relation between capital and labour, is a moment of a global relation. However, it is expressed not in the existence of a global state but in the existence of a multiplicity of apparently autonomous, territorially distinct national states. (Holloway, 1995: 123-124)

These national-states were necessary for capital to control people after losing feudal chains, thus an interrupted process of division of the world in national-states started, followed by the reproduction of such social divisions with several forms, boosting the racist character of the state:

there is no such a thing called society, just individuals and families. Today it is still their virtual project, but their way is quite advanced in most European countries and North America, while alternative no-dogmatic socialist- communist-anarchist projects are more precarious, although work is in progress around the world in order to re-think and re-implement them.

As the relation of exploitation was liberated of spatial bonds, the coercion which provided the necessary support for capitalist exploitation acquired a new territorial definition. An important activity of the emerging national states was the territorial definition of coercion, the limiting of the mobility of newly 'free' workers through measures such as the series of laws to define and control vagabondage. ... The world is not an aggregation of national states, national capitalisms or national societies: rather the fractured existence of the political as national states decomposes the world into so many apparently autonomous units. ...

The decomposition of global society into national states is not something that is accomplished once national boundaries are set. On the contrary, all national states are engaged in a constantly repeated process of decomposing global social relations: through assertions of national sovereignty, through exhortations to 'the nation', through flag ceremonies, through the playing of national anthems, through the administrative discrimination against 'foreigners', through war. In short, the very existence of the state is racist. ... This decomposition of global social relations is a crucial element in the fragmentation of opposition to capitalist domination, in the decomposition of labour as a class. (Holloway, 1995: 124)

The creation of a type of persons called 'immigrants' may be used by the state both as another assertion of national sovereignty (jointly with the category 'foreigner') and as another way of decomposing global social relations. However, as Holloway notes, the relation between global capital and all national states is not the same, and, thus, immigration policies may differ from one national country to another.

This approach is related to what Marx had commented on 'immigration'³⁴ in his published complete works³⁵. Firstly, for Marx, labour migration is a necessary characteristic for the subsistence of the capitalist system because it needs to have *fresh* labour wherever the increasingly expanding capital requires it. Secondly, in a similar way, although in smaller numbers and different forms, as with labour mobility there is workers' mobility, with capital mobility there is capitalists' mobility. When migrants arrive in 'new places', if possible, they organise themselves in class terms. Thirdly, since its origin, one of the main roles of the state has been to control labour and dissidents - including labour migrants and refugees - although as time goes by its role and relation to classes is more complex, contradictory and subtle. Fourthly, the development of nationalism and the rigidification of nationalities according to a certain number of states have been helpful to one of the main capitalist objectives: to control labour. Thus both capital and the state create and reproduce new differences within

³⁴ I have worked in Marx's comments on 'immigration' in a paper subtitled 'Beyond 'immigrants'. Marx and Immigration', presented at the International Symposium *Migration: nation, place and territory*, Universidade de São Paulo, 19-25 April 1999.

³⁵ This research on Marx's references to 'immigration' was done using the complete works published in London by Lawrence and Wishart.

labour that make workers' self-organisation more difficult in class terms, when confronted by a better organised capitalist class.

However, according to Holloway, there are key differences between the situation of capital and the state; the first is highly mobile and the second can only move its borders with difficulty. And in between capital and the state there is labour, as a flow in motion that can be momentarily contained, and even forced to solidify, and at other times changed from a solid and forced to flow and move. But, in this context, what is the relation between the state and capitalism? For Holloway, the capitalist state needs not only to attract capital continually but also to contain it in its territory:

In so far as the existence of any national state depends not just on the reproduction of world capitalism, but on the reproduction of capitalism within its boundaries, it must seek to attract and, once attracted, to immobilise capital within its territory. The competitive struggle between national states is not a struggle between national capitals, but a struggle between states to attract and/or retain a share of world capital (and hence a share of global surplus value). ... In this competitive struggle positions of hegemony and subordination are established, but a hegemonic position does not free states from the global competition to attract and retain capital. ... Conditions for capital accumulation depend in turn on the conditions for the exploitation of labour by capital, but there is no territorial relation here. Capital may accumulate in the territory of one national state as the result of the exploitation of labour in another state ... but the exploitation of labour is not the exploitation of rich countries by poor countries but of global labour by global capital, and the bipolarity is not a centre-periphery bipolarity but a bipolarity of class, a bipolarity in which all states, by virtue of their existence as states dependent of the reproduction of capital, are located at the capitalist pole. (Holloway, 1995: 127-128)

Thus it would be relevant to bear in mind these questions in order to examine, in the next chapter, social movements: they will be tolerated as long as they do not put capitalist relations at risk. And if the reproduction of capitalist relations needs cheap immigrant labour, and its exploited existence is challenged by social movements, the state may intervene to put social movements aside, and keep exploitation working. On the other hand, as it is possible to find several national models for immigrants' 'integration', neoliberal reforms may also differ from nation-state to nation-state.

In this sense, it would be useful to take into account differences and commonalities in the neoliberal reforms in Spain and Portugal, and, more concretely, in Barcelona and Lisbon. In this sense, for Peter Burnham (1995: 105),

The dilemma facing national states is that whilst participation in multilateral trade rounds and financial summits is necessary to enhance the accumulation of capital on the global level, such participation is also a potential source of disadvantage which can seriously undermine a particular national state's economic strategy. ... An important feature of the tension is its spatial

dimension, which guarantees uneven development and shifts the manifestation of capital's global crisis to particular national states and regions.

However, that shift of scale is not always successful achieved, and then global crisis, typical of capitalism, appears: 'The history of capital is the history of a constant flight forward, a constant flight from the inadequacy of existing relations of exploitation, from the inadequacy of its own domination of the power of labour on which it depends. This flight exists all the time, but acquires a particular intensity in times of crisis.' (Holloway, 1995: 129)

After the so-called thirty golden years that followed the Second World War in enriched capitalist countries, were the years of the 'welfare state', but during the 1960s the situation started to change and instability increased. According to Holloway (1995: 132-134):

[since] the mid-1960s there were clear signs of growing instability. The conditions which had made production profitable throughout the post-war period were weakening: the costs associated with the exploitation of workers (often referred as the organic composition of capital) were rising, the labour discipline (and general social discipline) established by the experience of war was weakening, the state bureaucracy associated with the post-war pattern of development was proving costly for capital. Investment in production came to be a less secure means of expanding capital. The inadequacy of the existing relations of exploitation as a basis for the expansion of capital was manifested in falling profits ... The crisis of production relations is expressed in the liquefaction of capital ... money, instead of appearing to be subordinated to production now appears as an end in itself. ... Money, in its desperation to find a way of expanding itself, forces open areas previously closed to private capitalist investment: everywhere areas of activity previously controlled by the state are privatised, opened up to the torrent of money in search of a profitable home.

This expansion of money to new areas of activity characteristic of post-fordism has included the so-called Non Governmental Organisations (NGOs) and QUANGOS, which have mushroomed in enriched and semi-enriched capitalist countries to cover social needs previously undertaken by the state (or to cover those new social functions that, in times of a 'welfare state' would be its responsibility to solve). However, behind the title 'NGO' there are different kind of associations. Some may follow the model of those 'protective associations' proposed by Nozick (quoted in Angelidis, 1994), others may be a new form of working class organisation, and other possibilities may exist. This is a key issue that will be explored for the Spanish and Portuguese cases in Chapters 7 and 8.

However, the subjection of the national state to the global movement of capital makes more difficult the national decomposition of society (Holloway, 1995). And it is here that today the over-signification of the category 'immigrant' or 'ethnic minority', in a historical moment when there are relatively less human migratory movements than in the nineteenth century, may be convenient for capital in order to deconstruct global social relations.

2.3 Local governments in urban areas

As it has been noted above, in the Conference Socialist Economists (CSE), during the 1970s, some new approaches to the state emerged from a re-examination of the concept of 'economic' which had dominated the debates over the crisis of capital and the crisis of state expenditure (these debates had been focused on the quantitative dimensions of the crisis and its impact on the rate of profit). By contrast, the work of the CSE Housing and Labour Process Groups was developed in response to the growth of 'grassroots tenants' and 'community' struggles, on the one hand, and shop-floor struggles over production, on the other, neither of which could be understood on the basis of any clear separation of the 'economic' and the 'political':

The separation of these dimensions of the struggle over housing has been a central aspect of the way in which the state has responded to such struggles. The state seeks to enforce the rights of property on tenants individually through the courts, fragmenting collective resistance to the social power of property and ensuring that such power will be imposed on tenants individually through the 'market', decomposing class forces, and recomposing them as 'interests groups' based on tenure categories. Meanwhile, the electoral system provides a means through which the rights of property can be challenged 'politically' within the constitution, but only on the basis of the decomposition of the collective organisation of the community and its recomposition as an 'electorate' whose only bond is the abstraction of individual citizenship.

However, housing struggles have never been confined within these limits. When housing struggles have threatened to over-step the constitutional boundaries of 'politics' and the law, to develop into a collective challenge to the rights of property, the state has responded by restructuring the relationship between politics and economics, modifying the forms of regulation of the housing market and making 'economic' concessions in the attempt to re-establish the rule of money and the law and to restore the separation of the two spheres. (Clarke, 1991: 33)

In this attempt, the role of the local state has been fundamental. As again Simon Clarke notes on the basis of Cynthia Cockburn's book, *The Local State* (1977):

Policy failures appeared in the form of growing local resistance, which was interpreted by the local state as a result of the remoteness of an over-centralised management system. 'Community development' was seen as the means of remedying the defects of 'corporate management' by

providing channels of information and means of legitimation of the state's policies. However, the state's enthusiasm for 'participatory democracy' was motivated by a concern not to meet people's needs, but to confine their aspirations and their organisation within the limits of the resources and the forms of provision at the disposal of the state. Against the fashionable 'community politics', which Cockburn saw as a way of assimilating and deflecting working class aspirations, and against the celebration of the fragmentation of the 'new social movements', she stressed the importance of a class-centred 'politics of reproduction', which could overcome the limitations of traditional socialist politics by linking class struggles at the point of reproduction with class struggles at the point of production. (Clarke, 1991: 34-35)

The geographer William Bunge (1979) came to similar conclusions, and stressed the importance of organising working-class struggle in the neighbourhood to include those marginalised from the work place, such as old people, students, people with long-term illness and the unemployed.

However, with the arrival of the 1980s, some authors moved from an emphasis on the class struggle to reject the understanding of space and the city in terms of the logic of capital, and to put into doubt the significance of concepts as class and class struggle to understand urban social movements. This was the case for Manuel Castells (1983) in his book *The City and the Grassroots*. In the face of such arguments, David Harvey (1989) suggested a renewed analysis of the class struggle in urban contexts, with the study of capitalist action in localised labour markets, and the study of unstable class alliances in urban areas that are difficult to define. These alliances are produced in a parallel way to the trend of an urban economy to obtain so-called structured coherence, defined around a dominant technology of production and consumption, and a dominant type of class relations. These alliances are unstable because competition, accumulation and technological change disrupt in one place what they tend to build in another. It is here where Harvey locates the political space where a relatively autonomous urban policy may appear, due to geographical dynamics of accumulation and class struggle. At a global level, there is competition between urban regions to attract and generate resources. Depending to what extent these different urban regions compete with each other, one scenario or another of geographically uneven capitalist development is established. In this competition local and central governments have been named the 'last entrepreneurs', because they have adopted strategies and methods characteristic of private business, in order to attract investments and new technologies to their urban areas.

These features have been considered characteristic of the so-called 'urban entrepreneurialism', which according to, amongst others, Tim Hall and Phil Hubbard (1996) has created the 'new urban policies'. These policies have been characterised as being policies of exclusion that ignore and marginalise 'other' voices and against which have appeared diverse opposition groups. According to these geographers - who based their researches in Britain, Canada and the United States - some of these opposition groups are spontaneous and informal, but others are well organised and well funded; they may represent a 'marginalised' community or radical political voices with a long history of mobilisation. On the other hand, their relations with the authorities may range from a close collaboration and consultation to violent opposition tactics. For Hall and Hubbard, although sometimes resistance may include a significant part of the population, usually the impact of opposition groups on urban entrepreneurialism strategies has been marginal, owing to a hostile political context, lack of resources and experience, and a lack of support from the local mass media. These authors compile evidence from some researches in the sense that when local governments and elites have asked opposition groups for consultation, it has also been to legitimise the entrepreneurial elites (Hall and Hubbard, 1996). However, it is necessary to go deeper to understand these processes, and thus in the following chapter these 'opposition groups' will be situated in the context of theoretical approaches to social movements.

This kind of 'urban entrepreneurialism' needs legitimisation, and Habermas' (1996) theoretical project of 'deliberative' democracy has been used, in some places, to reach such a purpose. The ideas on deliberative democracy suggested by Habermas and other authors may be useful to overcome some deficiencies of Western capitalist democracies, but other authors have accused Habermas of being too abstract: 'the new theories of discursive democracy have faced again the problem of bringing democratic theory down to earth' (Blaug, 1996: 49). Thus, according to Ricardo Blaug, the new deliberative or discursive theories range from a normative pole (Habermasian theories) to the anti-normativism and pure 'agon' of the post-modernist pole (Lyotard); and in between both poles there would be the contextualist positions of the 'republicans' (Hannah Arendt). However, for Blaug, all these theories operate somewhere above the ground, they share a serious deficiency in regard to the assistance to participants in an actual discourse, and they continue to be excessively abstract and utopian.

Ricardo Blaug, following Wolin, considers that, from the participant point of view, democracy, or discursive fairness, is something that occasionally breaks out among particular people in particular situations. Discursive fairness occasionally breaks out in spaces of our everyday lives, predominantly at the micro and meso levels³⁶ (it occurs infrequently, usually unexpectedly, and it is of finite duration). Some indications that such a break-out is occurring would be that speeches become animated, participants are keen to be heard, they listen to others with interest; people talk about what concerns them as individuals, there is agreement and disagreement, and then they move towards what concerns them all. When they begin to cohere, one of the first things to emerge is a growing suspicion of all forms of existing authority, and more people begin to identify more ways in which they are oppressed. Interpersonal conflict and clashes between different values, rather than fragmenting the group, now appear to generate even greater cohesion, to make people to reconsider their positions, and to result in decisions being made by consensus. In these cases, it is of central importance that, in matters of procedure, careful attention is paid to making decisions by a process which is seen to be 'right'. This does not mean that procedures must be perfectly fair; as long as people can see the necessity of a trade-off for greater efficiency, and that trade-off is fully discussed, quite unfair decisions can be sanctioned (Blaug, 1996: 61).

However, when democracy breaks out, although there are often successes (power structures are revealed and changed)³⁷, mostly there are defeats (whose causes can be multiple, both external and internal). Blaug wonders whether, from the participant's point of view, democracy is something that breaks out in specific situations, and what

³⁶ Blaug takes into account Eder's conceptual categories to describe the three levels of human interaction that characterised society: micro level (personal relationships between friends, neighbours and co-workers, and within families and groups; interactions are mainly face-to-face), meso level (civil associations, social movements, ethnic and religious groups, firms and institutions of civil society; here the interaction is not mainly face-to-face), and macro level (structures of the state, the economy, and to decision-making fora at the supra-state level; face-to-face interactions occur only within the elite 'village' of elected representatives and corporate directors).

³⁷ According to Blaug, instances of democracy break-outs are moments in the clubs of revolutionary France, in the Russian soviets in 1917, in anarchist groups during the Spanish Civil War, at the barricades of Paris in 1968, and in the resistance to the Vietnam war. More recently he acknowledges break-out in the women's movement, the gay and lesbian movements, in environmental groups, and among those campaigning against authoritarian governments in Eastern Europe and Latin America. However, Blaug also notes that almost everyone has had at least one experience of the break-out of democracy.

kind of help the new theories can provide for those who find themselves embroiled in such moments? He suggests that participants do not require instruction on what their judgement should be, the need is rather for procedural guidance to legitimate. However, he finds that the different deliberative theories have yet to combine successfully an account of normative validity with an aesthetic and agonistic conception of actual discourses: the fact that they do not adequately address the problems of democracy as experienced by the participants would mean that, in one respect, their political project remains essentially utopian. Blaug suggests that as participants we require both normative validity and morally restricted orientation to face the necessity of trading off participation for efficiency, of preserving the fairness of our procedure and of somehow remaining democratic.

For Blaug, what it is really utopian of deliberative democracy is that we cannot even do it in our everyday lives, nor at the level of the state (in the liberal democratic states there are significant trade-offs between democratic participation and efficiency). And further from the micro/meso source of democratic legitimacy is the market:

Any sustained break-out which begins seriously to infect large portions of the population would certainly, eventually, challenge democratic control of the economy. At such a point, participants would find themselves trying to evaluate discursively what must surely be one of the greatest non-decisions and the least deliberative trade-offs with efficiency in human experience. A break-out on such a scale would be tantamount to revolution. (Blaug, 1996: 70)

Far from such a revolutionary possibility, the situation of non-citizens in Western European countries is characterised, among other things, by a significant restriction of their political rights (most of them do not have even voting rights). Some attempts to handle this situation have been the creation by governments (at local, regional, state and supra-state level) of 'advisory councils' and 'migrant workers' parliaments' to deal with some problems foreigners suffer and to comment on demands they want to raise. It can be seen as a particular and partial kind of 'deliberative democracy': although consensus is hardly the aim of the meetings, some debates can take place. Nevertheless, at the local level, Uwe Andersen (1990: 126) has noted that such institutions "are often confined to providing information for the local authority and legitimating its policies by being available to consultation ... The 'rules of the game' for consultative institutions are that a modest role in the political system requires that

representatives of migrant workers accept the limited role assigned to them. Their demands are thus easily compromised and refused”.

These consultative forums on immigrant issues can be situated in a wider framework with the help of Lewis A. Coser (1956) who, following Georg Simmel's thesis that says 'conflict is a form of socialization', suggested the study of conflict taking into account its 'positive' aspects. For Coser, conflict within a group may help to establish unity or to re-establish unity and cohesion, yet not every type of conflict is likely to benefit a group structure. Thus Coser distinguishes 'positively functional conflicts' (which concern goals assumptions that do not contradict the basic assumptions upon which the social relationships are founded, such conflicts tend to make possible the readjustment of norms and power relations) and 'internal conflicts in which the contending parties no longer share the basic values upon the legitimacy of the social system rests threaten to disrupt the structure' (Coser, 1956: 151-152). It is from this point of view that the pluralisation of conflicts noted by Holloway (1995) is constructive for capital.

In relation to a social structure where individuals participate segmentally Coser found that conflicts may have different 'functions', including an integrative one. However, Coser notes that not all social systems in which individuals participate segmentally allow the free expression of antagonistic claims. Then, the solution is 'safety-valve' institutions which provide substitutive objects to displace hostile sentiments and means of abreaction of aggressive tendencies:

Societies dispose of mechanisms to *channel* discontent and hostility while keeping intact the relationship within which antagonism arises. Such mechanisms frequently operate through "safety-valve" institutions ... [that] lead to a displacement of goal in the actor: he need no longer aim at reaching a solution of the unsatisfactory situation, but merely at releasing the tension which arose from it ... the conflict itself is channelled away from the original unsatisfactory relationship into one in which the actor's goal is no longer the attainment of specific results, but the release of tension. (Coser, 1956: 155-156) [italics are mine]

Thus the aforementioned immigration consultative institutions (or advisory councils) can be seen as 'safety-valve' institutions. As will be noted below, in recent writings on the incorporation of 'foreign immigrants' and 'ethnic' minorities in Western European societies, the key role of some organisations to 'channel' conflicts has been

demonstrated (Ireland, 1994; Vertovec, 1996). These ‘safety-valve’ institutions may be regarded as ‘fire brigades’ to extinguish revolutionary sparks (in the dark) or to stop crucial transformations of social dynamics, following consciously or not the interests of governments or capital, which usually look for social stability (although not always).

In this section, most attention has been paid to capital and the state. However, are we as people completely trapped and immobilised in the systemic processes led by them ? Is it possible that people’s organisation in social movements or in associations can resist or challenge such processes? How is this possible or impossible? Is the collaboration of social movements with governments statist? In what organisational context do ‘foreign immigrants’ arrive today in Southern Europe? In what ways can ‘foreign immigrants’ follow organised social participation?

3. Social movements, integration and international migration

Some academics and journalists celebrated the end of neoliberalism during early Autumn 1998, due to the effects of the Asian and Russian crises and the existence of a majority of centre-left governments in Western Europe. However, the lack of a world-wide organised alliance of popular grassroots movements able to force a transformation, made it unnecessary for the capitalist ruling class to change their mind in a significant way. Thus 'neoliberalism' is still alive and kicking. The effects of the aforementioned working class defeat during the 1970s still pertains. How can 'foreign immigrants' be organised in such a context?. Was it really a working class defeat at the end of the fordist state? Foreign immigrants arriving in European countries in the 1960s or early 1970s met a context of a working class 'offensive', while today they meet a context of 'survival' and 'resistance'. But, nowadays is there just defensive struggle? In this chapter, an analysis of social movements is undertaken in order to situate a significant aspect of the social life of the urban areas of Western capitalists countries where some 'foreign immigrants' reside.

It may be necessary to bear in mind the significance of mutual help among human-beings, and that diversity in social organisations only re-emerged in a relatively recent time. As the anarchist geographer Peter Kropotkin (1902)³⁸ noted, diverse kinds of associations re-appeared during the nineteenth century in Europe (after three centuries of tough restrictions) and, among other factors, this was possible due to the importance of mutual aid:

All these associations, societies, brotherhoods, alliances, institutes, and so on, which must now be counted by the ten thousands in Europe alone, and each of which represents an immense amount

³⁸ Kropotkin published a book subtitled *Mutual Aid*, in order to demonstrate that, against most sociological works based on Darwinism, in the struggle for the means of existence the struggle of every human-being against all other humans was not a 'law of nature'. Instead, Kropotkin underlines the overwhelming importance which sociable habits play in nature and the possible progressive evolution of both the animal species and human beings. According to him, society is based on a conscience of human solidarity, on the unconscious force that is borrowed by each human-being from the practice of mutual aid, on the close dependency of everyone's happiness upon the happiness of all, and on the sense of justice, or equity, which brings the individual to consider the rights of every other individual as equal to his own.

of voluntary, unambitious, and unpaid or underpaid work - what are they but so many manifestations, under an infinite variety of aspects, of the same ever-living tendency towards mutual aid and support? For nearly three centuries men were prevented from joining hands even for literary, artistic, and educational purposes. Societies could only be formed under the protection of the State, or the Church, or as secret brotherhoods, like free-masonry. But now that the resistance has been broken, they swarm in all directions, they extend over all multifarious branches of human activity, they become international, and they undoubtedly contribute, to an extent which cannot yet be fully appreciated, to break down the screens erected by States between different nationalities. (Kropotkin, 1904: 221-222)

Solidarity is based on mutual aid and it may be a basic tool to confront systemic integration and to boost social integration. However, on the one hand, Kropotkin was aware of dangers such as what in Britain was called 'joint-stock individualism' and 'co-operative egotism', not only towards the community at large, but also among the co-operators themselves (although he considered it could be overcome). On the other hand, he was also aware of the limitation of the Christian Church because instead of mutual aid 'it has preached *charity* which bears a character of inspiration from above, and, accordingly, implies a certain superiority of the giver on the receiver' (although at the end of the day, he considered an immense number of charitable associations as an outcome of the same mutual-aid tendency). Finally, he also underlined that, although there was notorious evidence of lack of solidarity between 'the rich' and poor people: 'among themselves, in the circle of family and friends, the rich practise the same mutual aid and support as the poor' (and beyond that, he also noticed the possible philanthropy of some rich people). In this sense, capitalist class formation can be better understood, as it is possible to find a kind of 'joint-stock individualism' or 'mutual aid' among capitalists. Such mutual help among the members of the ruling class in the capitalist system has little or nothing to do with the kind of solidarity performed among working and popular classes, but it shares the fact of being a mechanism which can be influential in class action.

In general, what is understood as *collective actions* include those actions carried out from time to time by social groups. These can be differentiated from *social movements*, which can be understood as social groups that perform a transformative collective action against the system (Alberich, 1992). However, there are also social actors that try to strengthen the system: this can be done by 'managers' (perhaps with a disguise of 'invisible hand') or by other ones who perform as partial 'reformers' trying to

facilitate small changes to keep on making profits (e.g. some employers, managers, businesspeople participate in systemic clubs, associations or informal organisations).

A similar point of view was already noted by Antonio Gramsci (1930-35) who considered that the 'other so-called private initiatives and activities' may compose the apparatus of the political and cultural hegemony of the ruling classes. This perspective was adopted in the context of analysis of 'the state' both as an 'educator' (it tends to create a new type or level of civilisation), and as a developer of the apparatus of economic production. Of course, both characteristics are related. Writing about the idea of the 'ethical' state, Gramsci (1930-35: 258) noted that,

every State is ethical in as much as one of its most important functions is to raise the great mass of the population to a particular cultural and moral level, a level (or type) which corresponds to the needs of the productive forces for development, and hence to the interests of the ruling classes. The *school* as a positive educative function, and the *courts* as a repressive and negative educative function, are the most important State activities in this sense: but, in reality, a multitude of *other so-called private initiatives and activities* tend to the same end -- initiatives and activities which form the apparatus of the political and cultural hegemony of the ruling classes. [italics are mine].

Furthermore, Gramsci is even more concrete and notes that 'by 'State' should be understood not only the apparatus of government, but also the 'private' apparatus of 'hegemony' or civil society' (Gramsci: 1930-35: 261). There is a clear differentiation of State and government in Gramsci's work (although he considers that there is a State form where there is an identification of government and State: the economic-corporate form). But the general notion of State is another one: 'State = political society + civil society, in other words hegemony protected by the armour of coercion' (Gramsci, 1930-35: 263). The aforementioned 'consultative councils' where social organisations may participate in a kind of 'deliberative democracy' with governments are an instance of such possible intimate relation between civil society and governments (see section 2.3.). Such relations may be transformed in another kind of colonisation of the (social) lifeworld by the system (its governmental side).

Education and the courts will not be studied in this thesis. However, they may appear linked to several issues in a tangential way. The main focus here are the 'other so-called private initiatives and activities'. Gramsci looked back to the French Revolution

and Hegel's conception to locate the origin of its contemporary meaning, which was enriched by Marx when he added a sense of the masses:

Hegel's conception belongs to a period in which the spreading development of the bourgeoisie could seem limitless, so that its ethnicity or universality could be asserted: all mankind will be bourgeois. ...

Hegel's doctrine of parties and associations as the 'private' woof of the State. This derived historically from the political experiences of the French Revolution, and was to serve to give a more concrete character to constitutionalism. Government with the consent of the governed - but with this consent organised, and not generic and vague as it is expressed in the instant of elections. The State does have and request consent, but it also 'educates' this consent, by means of the political and syndical associations; these, however, are private organisms, left to the private initiative of the ruling class. Hegel, in a certain sense, thus already transcended pure constitutionalism and theorised the parliamentary State with its party system. But his conception of association could not help still being vague and primitive, halfway between the political and the economic; it was in accordance with the historical experience of this time, which was very limited, and offered only one perfect example of organisation - the 'corporative' (a politics grafted directly on to the economy). Marx was not able to have historical experiences superior (or at least much superior) to those of Hegel; but as a result of his journalistic and agitational activities, he had a sense of the masses. Marx's concept of organisation remains entangled amid the following elements: craft organisation; Jacobin clubs; secret conspiracies by small groups; journalistic organisation. (Gramsci, 1930-35: 258-59)

However, for Gramsci, in any given society nobody is disorganised and without party, provided that one takes organisation and party in a broad and not formal sense. In this *multiplicity* of private associations (which may be of two kinds: natural, and contractual or voluntary) one or more predominates relatively or absolutely - constituting the hegemonic apparatus of one social group over the rest of the population (or civil society): the basis of the state in the narrow sense of the government-coercive apparatus. It happens that individuals belong to more than one private association, and often to associations which are objectively in contradiction to one another (Gramsci, 1930-35: 265). When this Italian author thinks of informal organisations, for example, he wonders if the readers of a given newspaper also form an organisation.

A Gramscian approach to organisations is useful to break narrow-minded approaches to social movements and organisations, at least, in two ways: first, it may help to find what kind of bonds the organisations of the civil society have with governments (as both are State); second, it may help to find organisational forms beyond formal associations (the case of some Muslims in Barcelona are an example of this aspect, as will be developed in Chapter 7). Thus, although it is difficult to consider all

associations as part of the apparatus of the state's hegemony, Gramsci's conception may open minds to be more receptive to what is going on in society.

A similar and more recent way of understanding the difficulties in studying the 'separation', relations and 'unity' between 'state' and 'social movements' is undertaken by John Holloway:

[to] speak of the state as a rigidified form of social relations is to speak both of its separation from, and its unity with, society. The separation or rigidification (or fetishisation) is a process constantly repeated. The existence of the state implies a constant process of separating off certain aspects of social relations and defining them as 'political', and hence as separate from the 'economic'. The antagonism on which society is based is thus fragmented: struggles are channelled into political and economic forms, neither of which leaves room for raising questions about the organisation of society as a whole. ... This process of imposing definitions on social struggles is at the same time a process of self-definition by the state: as a rigidified form of social relations, the state is at the same time a process of rigidifying social relations, and it is through this process that the state is constantly reconstituted as an instance separate from society. ... 'The state' is thus doubly dissolved: it is not a structure but a form of social relations; it is not a totally fetishised form of social relations but a process of forming (fetishising) social relations (and hence a constant process of self-constitution). (Holloway, 1995: 121-122).

As it has been noted in chapter 2, the state is willing to separate individuals in several rigidified categories as citizen, tenant, welfare claimant, voter, motorist, pedestrian, producer, consumer, tax-payer, etc., in order to fragment social relations. How do social movements perform in such a context?

3.1 Geography, collective actions, social movements and organisations

In order to approach these issues initially I will make reference just to those *social movements* considered as opposed to 'the system', without taking into account their orientation (it can be libertarian, progressive, reactionary, etc.). Thus Villasante (1994) differentiates between 'short wave' social movements (mobilisations), 'medium wave' social movements (popular movements), and 'long wave' social movements (historical movements). For that author, to pass from one 'wave' to another one, associations are necessary. Associations can also be those intermediate elements between what is 'macro' and 'micro' in society, associations can be the medium of a series of activities that are neither 'state' nor 'market'. According to Villasante, who is based on the work of Jesús Ibáñez, associations can be differentiated according to their 'behaviour' in relation to the dominant system:

- *Converted*: when taboos dictated by the dominant system are accepted without any claim for change.
- *Perverse*: when there are protests against those that represent these taboos, but the norms of the latter are accepted, and associations just want to change subjects (not structures).
- *Subversive*: when normative taboos and their legitimacy are questioned, and the association wants to establish its own norms, setting up an alternative legitimacy, and trying to keep out of the established system.
- *Reversive*: when the system's declarations of principles are formally accepted, but only to make evident that they are not accomplished, and to overcome them in practice with concrete alternatives.

This approach towards the ruling system may be related to the distinction between 'politics' and 'the political' underlined by the geographer David Slater (1997: 264) on the basis of Mouffe and Lefort's work:

...'the political' relates to the antagonistic dimension that is inherent in all human agency - an antagonism that can take many different forms and can be located in diverse social relations. In contrast, 'politics' can be taken to refer to the ensemble of practices, discourses and institutions which seek to establish a certain order and to organize social life in conditions which are always potentially subject to conflict precisely because they are affected by the dimension of 'the political'. In this light, politics can be seen as the attempted pacification of the political, or the installation and embodiment of order and sedimented practices in a given society. Depoliticization is the most established task of politics.

According to Slater, there is an interactive relation between the political and politics: politics has its own public space, it is the field of exchanges between political parties, of parliamentary and governmental affairs, of elections and representation and in general of the type of activity, practices, and procedures that take place in the institutional arena of the political system. On the other hand, the political can develop in any area of the social life, irrespective of whether or not it remains within the institutional enclosure of 'politics', it is a living movement subverting the institutional settings of politics. Furthermore, as Slater notes, the idea of the imbrication of politics and the political reflects the continuing debate about relations between the state and civil society. Such debate can be related to the aforementioned Gramsci's writings: the government would be always trying to assimilate a rebellious 'the political' in state

politics, and in contrast some other manifestations of 'the political' may be willing to be institutionalised in the state along with the government.

A key contribution of Slater is the combined inscription of a spatial dimension to 'politics' (for example, discussion of the internal territoriality of constructed institutional orders, and a critical examination of the relations between states) and to 'the political' (that is, movements that challenge established territorial orderings of a given state, and movements which struggle against imperialism in diverse forms). In the geopolitical sphere, themes of power, inside/outside, borders, and movements intersect in an interesting way that, following Slater, can be illustrated with the case of the process revealed in the Zapatista uprising in 1994, where the local (a fundamental link between communities and land), regional (through exploitation of natural resources by Mexican and international companies), national (through oppression of indigenous people) and global (by the implementation of the NAFTA) are intimately intertwined rather than being markers of separate and unconnected worlds. In fact, the Zapatista movement has been characterised by blurring borders between rural and urban areas, between the Mexican revolutionary past and the present, between diverse organisations of the Mexican and international 'civil societies', etc. in order to organise a broad-based grassroots internationalist culture to counter the culture of neoliberalism³⁹.

The Zapatista claims had several answers. After the first 1996 Inter-continental gathering in Chiapas that hosted thousands of people from all over the world, a second intercontinental 'encuentro' took place in Spain in 1997, which helped in making contacts for the organisation of People's Global Action in early 1998. This network has been able to organise two global days of action, one in May 1998 (with participants in over 30 countries) and the other in June 1999 (involving people in over 40 countries, and including the disruption of the City of London, the largest financial

³⁹ It includes: 'all individuals, groups, collectives, movements, social, citizen and political organizations, neighbourhood associations, cooperatives, all leftist groups, non governmental organizations, groups in solidarity with the struggles of the peoples of the world, bands, tribes, intellectuals, musicians, workers, artists, teachers, peasants, cultural groups, youth movements, alternative media, ecologists, squatters, lesbians, homosexuals, feminists, pacifists' (Slater, 1997; see also <http://www.ezln.org>)

centre in the world). Both in Lisbon and in Barcelona small demonstrations and actions took place on 18 June 1999.

In order to study these issues in more depth, it may be useful to give more details on the genesis of social movements. Thus Carlos Sánchez Casas (1997: 161) has classified 'reasons or causes' that can explain the appearance of social movements. For the author of that classification, each group of theories emphasises an aspect or characteristic of all or a concrete social movement that existed in the last years. In any case, for Sánchez Casas (1997: 162-166) the common conception among them is correct, which is to say that social movements are collective actions with certain permanence in front of the institutional apparatus (constituted power). However, for Casas, it is not enough to talk about *collective actions* in generic terms, it would be necessary to distinguish between *direct collective actions* of the social whole (participatory actions that are developed within society) and *collective actions mediated* by social groups crystallised in a minimum organisation and, thus, constituted in 'grassroots institutions' with the capacity to overlap these participatory actions with some strategic actions that are opposed or alternative to the institutional apparatus. Direct collective actions can be easily incorporated by the institutional apparatus as a negative moment. Instead of that, when they are consolidated as 'grassroots institutions', a specific relation with the institutional apparatus, and with instrumental and ideological-normative actions on the physical 'field' appears while trying to become an alternative. It is under these conditions that it would be possible to create a social movement.

Sánchez Casas also raises a key question: *why* are there cases of *non-collectivisation*? and the answer is found in the invasion of society by a systemic strategy. In capitalist production, what is collective is imposed by organisation, it is not the organisation which structures a pre-existent collective in reaching a certain degree of complexity. This logic, translated into society, causes individuals to think and to wish themselves as self-sufficient and the collectives are felt by them as alien, because 'the other' appears as their rival, as their enemy. Here the individualisation process is found, which is fostered by loans and mortgages, long workdays, etc.:

O pormenor das hipotecas sobre os imóveis e o endividamento a curto prazo são a melhor forma de garantir uma ordem pública com tremenda eficácia; a acção colectiva perde a sua significação pelas preocupações pessoais. O individualismo, i.e..., a indiferença pelo colectivo, o suceso pessoal, tem como fundamento a busca do bem-estar que parece oferecer a propriedade de um alojamento construído ou adquirido nas coroas suburbanas. Depois a esmagadora responsabilidade de satisfazer as rendas mensais complementada por um quotidiano cumprido de sol a sol encarregam-se de garantir a ordem, a desmobilização colectiva e a promoção do individualismo. (Gonçalves, 1997: 61)

For Sánchez Casas (1996) the main reasons for the creation of social movements is a number of problems of integration in the social reality due to people's oppression by the system. In the British context, since the early 1990s, some social movements that face a wide range of those problems of integration in social reality can be found under the 'DIY culture' label⁴⁰. It is not possible to distinguish in simplistic terms between 'old' and 'new' social movements, as Habermas (1987) did in relation to similar movements in Germany during the 1970s and 1980s. Instead we can approach them by locating them in their historical context which allows us to see previous movements related to them (Brass and Koziell, 1997). According to these authors, the appearance of those movements is because an increasing number of people realise that their needs will never be resolved by those who are in power. In other words, governments are too busy competing in the global market to listen to the needs and ideas of individuals and communities.

In the Iberian context, some social movements have some points in common with the so-called DIY-culture. However, there, one of the most significant social movements of that kind is organised around squatted spaces (*espacios okupados*). A wide range of people is linked to such squats, but most of them share the aim of 'liberating spaces' from the system. In a promotional leaflet of a well known squat of Barcelona⁴¹, this squatters' collective proclaimed:

⁴⁰ This assembly of social movements includes those who reclaim the streets for walking and cycling, the anti-road movement, squatters, campaigns against the arms trade, pro-human and civil rights groups, raves and alternative cultural festivals, self-organised workers without the support of trade unions, alternative media, LETS, pro-animal rights groups, etc. However, the category 'DIY culture' has been criticised because separates social movements from the rest of people who are not involved in such movements.

⁴¹ That squat was in the former "Cine Princesa", in Barcelona city centre. In October 1996 it was evicted by hundreds of policemen with the support of all kind of resources, including helicopters. Its significance, in mass media impact terms, may be compared to the Newbury By-Pass resistance carried out by the anti-road movement in Britain (on the latter see Wall, 1999).

People of the neighbourhood: as we know, in the neighbourhood 'there is everything': there is much poverty, there are many people unemployed, there are many people homeless or with accommodation problems ... there is much drug addiction... A lot of problems and needs that current institutions are not able or do not want to solve. We are fed up with this situation, where young and old people are victims of 'economic terrorism' and where the only solution given by the state is to penalise and criminalise situations and actions such as ours.

We are a group of people, young and adult, boys and girls ... really a group of very diverse people who, united by common needs and worries, have taken the initiative of squatting and *give life to one of the many dead spaces* - abandoned in the big city - to denounce the institutions' passiveness in the face of our needs, and to denounce speculation.

We want an open space in the neighbourhood, where people may find a place to meet, but not bars. a place for debates, a space where activities, workshops, videos, chats,... can be realised."
[translation and italics are mine]

On the other hand, it can be perceived that, in the squatted social centre El Laboratorio in Madrid, they were doing 'social geography' while blurring borders with their actions:

The notion of territory is fundamental in a practice of liberating spaces in the metropolis, how to generate or to create territories, places which feel like at home without being a house. There is a César Vallejo verse which says: 'mi casa por desgracia es una casa'. Then our house luckily is not a house, but at the same time we try to feel like being at home. Here there is the entry of the de-territorialisation process, this is to say, how a house becomes in a certain moment a street or a public square. ... In the same way in some cases we have squatted public squares - like Agustín Lara in Lavapiés - and for a while we have converted it into a social centre, in a process of metropolitan de-territorialisation, in processes where place and space lose their meaning; being (re)created constantly. At the same time, to produce a de-territorialisation, it has to be a territory which makes us consistent, and it is the same territory which creates the agencements, because this territory is made of diverse fragments of components, and, of course, the construction of a territory, in this practice, implies the abandonment of this territory. In general it is an imposed practice, because it is a result of evictions, but it has to be as well an option to look for, not the evictions, but a kind of nomadic practice that prevents the re-territorialisation, [it prevents] from becoming embedded in that place and then [it prevents] to want nothing to do with the social, in the sense of creating a ghetto, in other words, a place in the metropolis where we feel good, we feel like at home, this is where we feel liberated and then we forget about what is around us. (El Laboratorio, 1997: 4-5; translation is mine)

Although it is possible to question their implicit causal relation between 'living in a place where we feel good' and 'to want nothing to do with the social', it can happen. And, furthermore, it is interesting to see a metropolis as full of space borders to be overcome, especially when approaching immigration issues.

For Sánchez Casas (1997) the aforementioned difficulties in integration in reality (which may be the starting point for social movements) can be noticed in any of the three key processes of construction of social reality (socialisation, production or habitation) and they can be assumed as conjunctures or as structural questions. In the same way, these problems can be found in three levels of abstraction:

- *An everyday level*: integration difficulties are assumed as a shortage or as an obstacle to daily life, so that an affected collective has a common problem but not a common project.
- *A conceptualised level*: apprehension at the conceptualised level presupposes consciousness of the strategic character of the difficulties, but it does not imply an alternative project.
- *A project level*: consolidation of collective action does not presuppose existence of a project, but simply the permanence or persistence to allow or to require functions of actors.

For the existence of an alternative social movement it is not just necessary to perceive those contradictions that lead to difficulties, nor the power structure subjacent to a given *status quo*, but it implies an alternative - more or less wide - to the power structure where difficulties are originated. While the project level is not reached, the claim does not imply an alternative will, but simply that a difficulty is noted, which in general terms can be accepted: if grassroots organisations are genuinely grassroots organisations, the dominant or active power structure is that of the institutional apparatus and, even if they are organised as opposition to this institutional apparatus, the protagonists conquer power in this structure (bureaucratisation is produced when the organisations crystallise within the system, even if, or maybe even more if, they are recognised as 'opposition').

Projects can be of several kinds. Jesús Ibáñez (1989) noted two main possibilities: the one of the 'continent' (Althusser's type, for example) and the one of the 'archipelago'. For Ibáñez, the former 'continent' metaphor is giving way to the 'archipelago' metaphor, and the problem is how to connect the islands of that archipelago. In other words, for Ibáñez, if in the 'modern age' there was a revolution that was written in capital letters, because history had an end called 'the Revolution'; now in the 'post-modern age', revolution could be understood as an ever-lasting history of micro-revolutionary struggles that can be integrated, but not unified:

Marx indicated one of the larger class struggles, the one that confronts owners and proletarians, but that is not the only one, although it may be the main one. To a certain extent, I do not know if

it determine, but it conditions all the rest. ... There are an infinity of struggles that originated revolutionary movements. There are class struggles always that there is a class relation, in which a dominant majority confronts an oppressed minority, and they are confronted with games rules that produce as effect that one part always loses all games. ... to *integrate all these micro-revolutions*, settled on a firm basis, *can bear to a revolutionary project*, no global, no solid, no continental, but *done by integration of fragments, of archipelagos, of different conditions, without unity*. [Ibáñez, 1989: 116-118, italics and translation are mine]

On the other hand, the project, for Harvey, is socialism, understood in the following terms: 'Socialism has to be understood as a political project, as an alternative vision of how society will work, how socio-ecological relations will unfold, how human potentialities can be realised, albeit within a geography of difference' (Harvey, 1996: 433). To reach that objective, Harvey suggests the creation of organisations, institutions, programmes, formal structures, etc., and remembers, quoting a manifesto of the Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional (EZLN), that against the international of terror provoked by neoliberalism it is necessary to raise an international of hope. However, more recently, Dave Featherstone (1998) criticised the lack of links between Harvey's book with the 'currently existing alternatives', and this fact makes socialism divorced from people's daily lives today, so that it is just an aspiration that may be reached in an uncertain future. Thus this Featherstone critique may be linked to positions suggested also in El Laboratorio: the so-called 'communism now'. But before writing more about these issues, it is necessary first to comment on the role of the individual, the subject and the collective in the struggle and in making projects.

In this sense, there is no unanimity on the need of a project to act and target spaces and times to the system, although it is recognised that it is useful sometimes to have one⁴². In any case, projects, to be carried out by collectives, first have to be accepted (consciously or not) by individuals. As the anarchist geographer Elisée Reclus (1887) noted: individual transformations are necessary to reach collective revolutions. There have been everlasting debates based on the primacy of individual or collective action,

⁴² '¿para qué hablar de proyectos si nos recuerda a apuntarse a un plan de pensiones, a hablar del Futuro, de lo que esperamos de cada (mo)vida? Es la propia espera la que nos (m)ata. Inacabados y a la deriva, nada más tenemos que nuestro vivir mismo. Y nada menos. (...) Claro que no hay ninguna voluntad de polemizar si tal o cual cosa es o no un proyecto, o de sabotear proyectos. Si es preciso, (a)firmamos un proyecto, el que sea, pero no porque sirva de punto de partida de nada o como juicio/baremo de los actos por venir, sino por expresar un deseo específico, una postura singular que está en lucha: nos reservamos nuestra capacidad de traicionar(nos), de fluctuar, de partir por enmedio, de proyectar de nuevo, de proyectarnos a sabiendas de que cuando la imagen sea proyectada el original ya puede haberse desplazado, estar en otro sitio. <<Ser rápidos sin moverse.>>' (<http://www.nodo50.ix.org/Laboratorio/documentos/varios/apotegmas>)

or on the relevance of material issues in subjectivity. According to the Portuguese philosopher José Barata-Moura (1988), when Marx makes reference, in the sixth thesis on Feuerbach, to the 'human essence' (*menschliches Wesen*) as the whole of human relations, he is not proclaiming the extinction or silence of the individual. On the contrary, he is just claiming attention for the circumstance that the 'essence' (understood in the ancient Greek way, as entity of being) is not referred to as 'something abstract' inherent or 'resident' in the isolated individual. 'Essence' is not a property or a patrimony that is *owned*, it is a *being* that is practised. It is because of this that, 'in its reality', in the effectiveness of its practice, 'essence' is a 'whole of relations', and the individual, concretely and materially considered, is always just an individual within a system of relations. Thus Marx does not deny or reject individuality, he just takes care in demonstrating the concrete terrain where oneself is individual and *really* works as such (Barata-Moura, 1988).

Taking this into account, it is possible to go further and to approach the study of the social participation of people who 'belong' to 'concrete social sectors' - like women, men, youth, elders, immigrants. These social sectors may be rigidified categories, and thus have to be approached taking into account their context. For instance, if attention is paid to the women's struggle against oppression, according to Sheila Rowbotham (1992), it is possible to observe that if 'gender' is not studied in isolation but in connection with other questions, it did lead women to protest, and it is possible to understand a wider range of women's movements and actions in the present and the past. Thus, there are both women involved in working class resistance and women involved in the collective action of certain 'oppressors', for instance, some women's groups in the City of London, as Women in Banking or City's Women Network - whose presence has been mentioned by Nigel Thrift (1996). This happens in a place where capital's 'representatives' are well organised:

The City's *thick network of social institutions* not only still exists but is actually thriving. In the past, such institutions were the continuation of the social structures of work by other means: places where the extant social structures of the city were confirmed and reinforced. Now they have become places to do face-work much more actively; to make contacts, to check people out, to tap into and *to transmit discourses*. There is certainly an enormous web of such institutions..." (Thrift, 1996: 247; italics are mine).

In the face of the apparently 'healthy' organisation of the capitalist class (see section 2.1.), recently, among workers and after years of a sense of defeat (although resistance never stopped), a diverse literature on the (re)organisation of the working class has been published (Cohen, 1999; Moody, 1997; Recio, 1997; Tufts, 1998; Wills, 1996). It happens in a context where, as Robin Cohen (1999) notes, 'It seems also that the obituaries for labour protest have been posted too prematurely'. That literature tries to analyse critically the past and present situation, and although in general it still locates trade unionism as the axis for 'resistance', some of these authors also note its need for alliances, coordinations, etc. with other social movements. Before dealing with the question of alliances it is necessary to examine, briefly, the situation of trade unions today, and as Albert Recio (1997) suggests, trade unions have to face a series of problems and contradictions, among which two questions can be underlined:

- First, trade union action maintains an ambivalent position, to a certain extent inescapable, because on the one hand it has an 'anti-capitalist' discourse (it fights for solidarity, distributive justice, the guarantee of social rights, etc. and it defends salary demands, limitations to time uses, etc. which are opposed to the market) and, on the other hand, trade unions keep a discourse 'integrated' into the system, because *de facto* the logic of capital is accepted in making compatible improvements obtained by trade unions with the functioning of the system⁴³. Two consequences of the latter factor are that, in general, trade unions accept economic growth as a positive element (with the questionable argument that if the 'cake' is bigger there would be more to distribute), and that trade unions accept the existence of great inequalities within the working class (that is, particular labour conditions are not put into question in each company or sector, nor the hierarchies established by companies, nor the perceptions of salaried workers who have been educated in the acceptance of such conditions).
- Second, the particular situation of most trade unions in societies under capitalism makes them organisations with a clear territorial or national character. This fact can be explained, on the one hand, because the workers' organisation in trade unions depends

⁴³ In this sense, Albert Recio notes as an instance that today nobody is suggesting seriously proposals aiming to obtain the financial bankruptcy of companies. In fact, to suggest claims which may put economic stability into question implies not only a confrontation with capital, but often implies the opposition of significant segments of the working class (especially, the followers of the sentence: 'más vale pájaro en mano que cien volando').

on the existence of a kind of sense of community, of a social group that shares a series of situations and common aspirations. On the other hand, because trade union action is conditioned by the existence of a favourable legal framework in which the state's intervention is essential (in a pure market system, the force's correlation is in favour of employers, and, where there has been a clearly hostile state, trade union life has been very precarious). Finally, this 'national' character of trade union action is based also on the legitimation of basic citizens' rights for everybody, which is appealing to concepts such as 'citizenship' constructed on the basis of 'national states'.

In relation to alliances between social movements and organisations, for David Harvey (1996) it is vital to study the impact of capitalism on people and its contradictions; in order to do so it should be necessary to go beyond the particularities of the damage done, and to emphasise the fact that such damage is produced by the system. Thus common features may be found, and 'to connect' is one of the key actions⁴⁴. In this sense, Simon Clarke (1991) had already suggested, after the experience of the 1970s and the Thatcher years, the need to advance and recompose working class alliances and integrate diverse struggles. To reach such an aim, for Harvey, it is necessary to develop a work of synthesis rooted again in daily life conditions, without renouncing the abstractions that Marx and 'Marxists' have offered, but revalidating and re-assessing them through an immersion in popular struggles. Harvey suggests that emancipation should be open to the production of difference, and even open a terrain to the fight within and between differences, instead of suppressing them. In this sense, it is necessary to take advantage of the fact that one of the bigger objections to capitalism is that it creates a relatively homogeneous capitalist person, converting him or her in commodity, and this may shape a common platform for a strong anti-capitalist feeling (Harvey, 1996). In this sense, this anglophone geographer is concerned about globalisation trends and how to make use of their revolutionary possibilities. For him, the 'socialist movement' has to find ways to be just as flexible over space in its theory and its political practice as the capitalist class has become.

⁴⁴ These 'connections' proposed by Harvey are also already happening in Britain (e.g. the alliance between the Liverpool dockers and the ecologist group Reclaim the Streets) and in some squatted social centres in the Iberian peninsula with neighbours' associations or groups.

As Massimo de Angelis (1999) notes, if the struggles of the 1970s and 1980s were mostly reactive in nature and mainly defensive of rights threatened by the new neoliberal policies, in the 1990s this defence of rights of the Keynesian era has been paralleled by a process which, although in an embryonic state, has started the formation of 'new oppositional alliances' that has begun to develop new political and organisational imageries, and that has started to define new claims and new rights. That author criticises the aforementioned one-sided conception of working class 'defeat':

To the observer endowed with stereotypical radical cynicism, the long period of the neoliberal hegemony since the beginning of the 1980s may appear simply as a long period of working class defeat. And certainly many entitlements have been lost. However, to the observer who takes an historical perspective, these last twenty years cannot be only a synonym of defeat. A process of *recomposition* of radical claims and social subjects has been under way, a process that is forcing every movement not only to seek alliances with others, but also to make the struggles of other movements their own. (de Angelis, 1999: 27)

In this way, for Massimo de Angelis, the premise of this process of recomposition is the multi-dimensional reality of exploitative and oppressive relations under global capitalism, and the result of the interaction of these social subjects in diverse struggles at a global scale is the creation of an alternative mode of thinking which is increasingly able to respond to 'the multi-dimensionality of human needs and aspirations into the universalism of the human condition'. Thus, in the face of individualist and monetarist processes increased by neoliberalism, the creation of a new sociality would be found in ongoing processes of self-organisation based on 'horizontal organisations' (rather than vertical), 'direct actions' (rather than delegated ones), 'consensus seeking' (rather than majority vote), and world-wide connections. These are the ideas behind the aforementioned networks appeared at several levels after the Zapatista uprising in 1994.

This self-organisation may be necessary in order to have 'life', because 'life is a commodity that the state does not make', as the philosopher José Luís Pardo (1997) put it. Here there may be echoes of Habermas' (1987) process of colonisation of the life-world by the system (understood both as capital and state). However, for Pardo, outside (the state) it is neither possible to live, unless one makes his/her way of life, this is a *componenda* (in the original French of Deleuze and Guattari, an *agencement*).

There is the need to make a way of life, and the squatted social centres are *agencements* that appear in the last place where life extinguishes, in other words, when it is not possible to live, then an *agencement* is necessary. According to Pardo, who follows Deleuze and Guattari, *agencements* are made because people have to live:

Life is a precarious, rare, unstable, badly supported phenomenon, and as such finally collapses on one of two ways: to emptiness as it crashes, or it can fall in a pact. But in any case it is a decadence, I mean that the pact is not useful to live. At the moment that there is a pact on something, there is the possibility to invent another *agencement* to keep on living. But it is just possible to invent *agencements* because there is a pact. If there is no pact the only possibility when an *agencement* finishes is to fall down in emptiness. But as pact I do not understand the agreement of Habermas, which is pre-established, not at all. Neither is it a fair pact. The majority of agreements are unfair, I almost would say that all those that look for a pact do not wish a fair pact. As more unfair, the best. I locate pacts at the level of what is actual, empirical, factual. What is at the level of the virtual but real are *agencements*. What I see as ill-fated is the confusion of the virtual with the real (sic) and thus of the *agencements* with pacts and, consequently, of the State with what is outside of it. ... The pact, what I consider a pact, has nothing to do with the universal agreement of humanity. There are local, punctual, actual pacts, for the same reason that there are robberies and killings: because we are mortal, we are weak. This weakness does not imply that is not necessary to make *agencements*. ... the pact can just be made on the basis that there is something that is not possible to pact. (Pardo, 1997: 7-8; translation is mine).

Self-organised movements of resistance can be found in several places and their spatiality is a key issue in understanding them. According to Steve Pile (1997: 27) 'resistance is as much defined through the struggle to define liberation, space and subjectivity as through the élite's attempts to defeat, prevent, and oppress those who threaten their authority. At the heart of questions of resistance lie questions of spatiality - the politics of lived spaces.'

Today resistance is still minoritarian confronted by a majoritarian social apathy and still powerful institutionalised organisations. The dual approach of Pardo to social life as a continued contradiction between *agencements* and pacts may be useful to understand the situation of individuals and social groups in general, but especially of those involved in social movements and organisations in today's societies.

To bear the aforementioned approaches in mind, it may be useful to situate immigration in the context of social movements, the state and capitalist processes, and to try to understand how immigrants are organised, how immigrants are used by organisations, how the state 'manages' migration movements and 'integrations', how migrants are related to capitalist relations, how the categories 'immigrant' and 'ethnic

minority' are created, used and abused, how it is possible to face aggression, and how it is possible to survive or live in a context where there is a 'feeling' of defeat and, at the same time, where there is a working class re-organisation.

3.2. 'Foreign immigrants', social movements and organisations

According to Steve Pile (1997: 29) resistance involves the spatialities of location and boundary formation, but it is constituted through the idea of movement (a change from one place in the map to another, or many others). These characteristics are similar to those of immigration, which is usually defined by mobility and often also by governmental boundaries. Thus some immigrant workers' social mobilisation may be doubly mobile, due to resistance and to migration.

Transnational labour immigrants arrive to a *scenario* that they did not have the chance to create. They arrive in a country, a region, a city, a neighbourhood where several processes are under way but also other processes are complete. At the same instant when they arrive, they become potential main characters of the transformation or stagnancy of their new place, alongside the other residents. In a sense, there are some points in common with the situation of the younger labour generations born in that 'place'.

As it has been mentioned above, today for the working class is a time of defeat and recomposition. And thus transnational labour immigrants arrive in countries where the working class is perceived as defeated, and often they come from countries where the working class was also defeated (this is sometimes directly or indirectly their reason for emigration). Such 'defeat' has an uneven spatiality. Defeats in Spain and Portugal were different: in the first case was a 'transitional' defeat (Moncloa's pact, etc.), in the second case was after a revolutionary process and contra-revolutionary coup (that followed the 'Carnations revolution' scene). In both cases all those processes happened during the mid and late 1970s. But at the same time, currently it seems to be a slow recomposition of the class struggle in the Iberian countries, as some young people are trying to organise themselves outside the fordist organisations.

In this contradictory context, Marina Garcés (1997) notes a paradoxical crossroads for today's youth: 'Where a defeat that is not ours and a future that does not belong to us confront us, WE the children of the night of the century ARE LOST without HAVING LOST.'⁴⁵ On the other hand, some transnational labour migrants from impoverished countries may also be lost just at the moment of their arrival in Europe; without having participated in any struggle in the 'host' countries, without having lost any battle, they are lost⁴⁶.

In fact, in capitalist countries, the influence of the State and capital on the social life of human-beings affects, of course, the so-called 'foreign immigrants' also. Sometimes this is in different ways to the rest of population, at other times it is similar or the same. However, it is also possible to find 'foreign immigrants' acting as collective 'representatives' of capital or the state (it can be in a joint-effort with capitalists or bureaucrats born in the 'host' country, or in an isolated way with their own associations).

To establish who is representative of capital or labour (or the state), who is worker or capitalist (or bureaucrat) becomes more difficult while approaching concrete local realities, probably because people in general are contradictorily crossed at the same time by, on the one hand, destructive capitalist relations, and, on the other hand, human social solidarity relations. However, looking at reality it is also possible to distinguish large groups of social actors in confrontation with each other, although internal contradictions may exist within each one, class struggle is part of daily life.

In this section, an overview of a diverse 'foreign immigrant' collective organisation compiled from scientific literature is undertaken. The number of studies on the collective action of 'migrant labour' is higher than those focused on organisations

⁴⁵ Translation is mine.

⁴⁶ This relation between immigrants and young people can be developed from the concept 'new' in society: immigrants are often called 'newcomers' (Lucassen, Penninx, 1997) and young people were considered 'new ones' in Ancient Greece (Arendt, 1963). Furthermore, in Portuguese language, someone who is 'novo' (new) means that is young.

which are closer to capital interests ('migrant capital'). As a consequence, in the following pages there is a less extended treatment of the latter ones.

As a starting point, although the mode of capitalist production gives shape to labour immigrant lives, it is interesting to take into account, as Robin Cohen (1987: 179-180) suggests, that 'the conditions that oppress migrant labourers are not so deterministic that they can never be challenged or contested ... forms of resistance can, and are, being organised'⁴⁷. At the same time, Zig Layton-Henry (1990: 102) has noted that immigrants' participation in associations may help their social integration: 'The success of migrant workers in establishing communities and developing an infrastructure of institutions and associations has helped to create the conditions for successful settlement and integration in the receiving societies'. Combining both aspects, Miller (quoted in Ireland, 1994) has suggested a typology of foreign immigrant organisations and he has identified five kinds of strategies which can be used by foreigners to express their interests: a) homeland organisations; b) consultative bodies created to express foreigners' interests at local or national level; c) unions and workplace councils, d) political parties, religious organisations and civic organisations; e) confrontational means, such as demonstrations, strikes, etc.

In a more synthetic typology, which develops Miller's one, Patrick Ireland (1994: 25-26) describes three general types of political structures that immigrants may face both at 'national' and local level: homeland-oriented participation (when immigrants direct their political activity towards their country of origin), institutional participation (which explicitly and directly targets the host society and proceeds along the channels it accords them and accepts in a positive fashion), and confrontational participation

⁴⁷ This resistance by labour immigrants is not a new phenomenon. For instance, Marx made reference to the importance of the co-ordination of German immigrant workers' associations abroad: 'Early in 1850- the president of the Geneva Workers' Association ... proposed a union of all the hitherto unconnected German workers associations in Switzerland. The proposal was accepted. Whereupon it was decided to send a circular to twenty-four different workers' associations, inviting them to Murten to discuss the problems of the intended organisation and of establishing a joint newspaper' (Marx, 1860:52). During those years, German immigrant associations existed in different European countries and America, grouping also foreign workers of other origins. For instance, the German Worker's Education Society, founded in London in 1840, six years later it had about 250 members, "and in 1847 it included in its ranks - according to Schapper - forty Scandinavians, twenty Hungarians, 'and in addition Poles, Russians, Italians, Swiss, Belgians, French, English, etc'" (Briggs, 1982: 22).

(which involves political activity that occurs outside legally available and favoured channels).

On the other hand, in the 1980s, Rex (1987) reviewing a compilation of articles about immigrant associations in north-western European countries suggested that it was possible to find some recurrent features in all of them: a) Association life in the migrant communities existed within the structure of kinship; b) There were larger structures which were extended from the homeland to the country of settlement which helped to systematise provision for migrant needs (e.g. churches and consulates); c) In general, the countries of immigrant origin studied there had had or still had military dictatorships, and all of them had or had had clandestine political parties that flourished in exile. d) In all the cases local Communist parties and local churches were found as an important source of immigrant association formation; e) Not all associations, however, had these political or religious resources: some specific associations catered for needs that immigrants had directly experienced (work, housing, sports facilities, education for their children, etc.) and were organised to provide this kind of service for themselves or to persuade the government of the country of settlement to provide it for them. Apart from such material needs, those associations would try to reproduce in the new country aspects of the homeland cultures. f) The receiving governments did not remain passive, and after the first decade or so of immigration, there was an emergence of new associations linked to the welfare state that could lead to a new pattern of clientele and patronage.

The possible characteristics of the organisations where 'foreign immigrants' participate can be made more concrete. Thus, the kind of 'foreign immigrants' taken into account can be extended (to include, for example, not only labour migrants but also small entrepreneurs and 'capitalist' migrants), and a more accurate distinction between associations can be made.

Thus, on the latter question, John Casey (1996), on the basis of a classification done by the Colectivo Ioé who distinguished between NGOs created *for* immigrants and NGOs created *by* immigrants, develops the following typology: '*ethnic*' organisations, which are created by immigrant groups; '*generalists*' organisations of the arrival society,

which have as their main aim to offer services to all society, but which opt to dedicate part of its resources to immigrants' integration (i.e. organisations with a previous history on the arrival of international immigrants, such as trade unions or churches); '*specialist*' organisations of the arrival society, which are dedicated exclusively to the needs of immigrants and 'ethnic' minorities.

However, there are at least two limitations in relation to the aforementioned classifications. Firstly, in dividing associations between those created *by* immigrants and those created *for* immigrants it excludes the possibility of associations created by 'immigrants' and 'non-immigrants' in a joint-effort, which may be called 'mixed NGOs'. Secondly, in using the adjective 'ethnic' to describe 'foreign immigrants' associations it means that they are grouped according to a concrete 'ethnic' origin (e.g. mandingas). However, in practice, 'foreign immigrant' associations are often created according to other patterns like belonging to a (nation-)state where several ethnic groups are living together (in relation to the previous instance, in Gambia, apart from mandingas, there also live fulas and saraholes), believing in the same religion (Islam, for example, where several nationalities may be together) or sharing political ideas.

A possible solution to the latter question would be to call these associations 'immigrant associations' (in Catalonia or the Lisbon region), but also considered 'immigrants' are those people who arrive from other regions of the same country (or enter Barcelona or Lisbon from other municipalities). Another possible option would be to consider them as 'foreign immigrants' associations'. However, this possibility faces another problem because some members of such associations have acquired Spanish and Portuguese nationality. Considering them as 'associations of foreign immigrants and people with a foreign immigrant background' can be a solution, although it can also be questioned: for how long can somebody be considered immigrant or with a foreign background? Furthermore, in a campaign under the slogan *Igualtat de Drets, Democràcia per a Tothom* (Equal Rights, Democracy for Everybody), carried out in Barcelona during the spring of 1995 by a platform of several organisations, it was stated that with economic and socio-cultural globalisation, why is it still possible to categorise some people with the legal category of

‘foreigner’?⁴⁸. However, these suggestions were not taken into account by legislators, either before the campaign nor afterwards. On the one hand, Article 8 of the Spanish Foreigners’ Law 7/1985 included a sentence on the right of foreigners to participate in associations according to concrete association laws. However, in the first version of the Foreigners’ Law passed by Parliament the right of foreigners to associate freely was not allowed, but in 1987 the ban was explicitly removed. On the other hand, the Catalan Associations Law 7/1997 of the 18th of June, passed by the Catalan Parliament, in its chapter 4, it makes explicit the need to note the nationality of the ‘foreign’ foundation members in order to constitute the association. In Portugal, ‘foreigners’ also have the right to constitute their own associations without asking for any special permit, as any other resident (Ferreira, 1996). However, foreigners do not have the right to participate in political associations nor in political parties.

All the aforementioned questions suggest the difficulties of defining terms in a rigorous way, without falling into involuntary stereotyping. In social sciences it is necessary to take into account the risk of fostering ‘the construction of difference’. According to David Sibley (1995), to draw a line in the construction of categories is an arbitrary act and it may be seen as unfair by the people who suffer the consequences of such a division.

While preparing the research, in order to decide what kind of organisations and social movements I was going to study, I opted for a provisional classification in order to carry out the study on the forms of social organisations and movements where ‘foreign immigrants’ participate. This provisional classification was based on some of the aforementioned works and added new distinctions (for example, it is not possible to consider as the same kind formal NGOs and informal social movements, neither is it interesting to consider trade unions as NGOs like the rest, or sensible to forget the role of employers’ organisations, even if the latter might be considered systemic organisations and not social organisations). A provisional classification, based mainly in the kind of activities done by organisations, was considered in order to start the

⁴⁸ The text of a campaign poster can be translated as follows: ‘Your Christ is Jewish, your car is Japanese, your pizza is Italian, your gas is Algerian, your coffee is Brazilian, your holydays are Moroccan, your figures are Arabic, your letters are Latin,... and you dare to say that your neighbour is foreigner?’

fieldwork, although previously and during the fieldwork I used other classifications (see section 3.1). This provisional classification comprised:

- 'Associations of foreign immigrants and people with a foreign background': on the one hand, although it has failings, this name makes explicit that it includes all those people who at one time migrated from another country to the 'host' country, but it does not include internal migrants; on the other hand, it includes the significant presence of immigrants who already have acquired the 'host' country's nationality; and, finally, it allows us to take into account immigrants who come from enriched as well as impoverished countries.
- Trade unions: these organisations have a long history of relations with migrants from several countries. Their position as a node in the 'host' country organisational framework differentiates them from other types.
- Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) of solidarity with 'foreign immigrants': they may be differentiated as two main types: on the one hand, those organisations that basically provide 'services' to 'foreign immigrants' and, although they may include some immigrants in management, in general they treat them as users; on the other hand, those mixed organisations that create, at a micro-scale, 'intercultural spaces', in the aforementioned sense.
- Informal social movements: whether they are 'protest' or 'alternative' movements, it is another kind of organisation. In the case of the more or less spontaneous movements, while they exist as such (being created by the addition of several organisations, grassroots associations and individuals, or just by the addition of individuals), they may have a more flexible way of work than those associations with legal statutes and which are registered according to the respective association laws.
- Employers' and business organisations: although in a different form than the rest, because they can be considered a kind of systemic organisation, these organisations have also been in contact with migration issues for a long time and, thus, they also deserve a specific treatment. Individual employers can participate in the aforementioned organisations, but in this group called 'employers' organisations' are included those organisations explicitly defined as being defenders of employers' interests.

Furthermore, other questions were taken into account, such as the relationship between gender, class and migrations which may suggest that immigrant women's associations are developed upon two key issues (Gregorio, 1997; Herranz, 1997; Ramirez, 1997; Monreal, 1997): the fight against the discrimination they may suffer as women and as immigrants, and social reproduction, including information exchange, mutual help, work, etc. However, it is also necessary to bear in mind the class dimension to understand diverse organisational processes: some immigrant women's associations may be concerned about discrimination issues, but for others that may not be a big concern because they have other means of solving such difficulties. There are some historical instances of the complex relationship between class, feminist movement and immigration (Rowbotham, 1992). On the other hand, immigrant men can also be organised on their own, Michael A. Messner (1997) has noted eight major tendencies that since the 1970s have attempted to engage in a conscious politics of masculinities: men's liberationists, men's rights advocates, radical feminist men, socialist feminist men, 'men of color', gay male liberationists, Promise Keepers, and the mythopoetic men's movement (however, not all these North American movements have an equivalent in Portugal or Spain). In any case, according to Connel (1995), gender continuously interacts with nationality or position in the world order:

Because gender is a way of structuring social practice in general, not a special type of practice, it is unavoidably involved with other social structures. It is now common to say that gender 'intersects' - better, interacts - with race and class. We might add that it constantly interacts with nationality or position in the world order. (Connel, 1995: 75)

However, there is still an issue to be tackled. An instance may illustrate it: at the Alternative Mediterranean Conference held in Barcelona in 1995, a group of Moroccan comrades who came from Madrid found a naïve organiser who wanted them to attend the workshop on immigration. However, they were more interested in participating in another workshop on ecology. That provoked a small conflict: in his individual belief the organiser was assuming that a 'foreign immigrant' should be primarily interested in immigration issues. In this case they were really interested in such issues, as they belonged to an organisation which had been fighting the foreigners' law in Spain for almost a decade, but in that specific gathering some of them wanted to attend a workshop on ecology. This is to say that if this thesis is focused on 'foreign immigration' issues it is because there is a limit to what an individual thesis can cover,

and not because 'foreign immigrants' can not, potentially, join any kind of association, social movement or event in society.

Although it is not the aim of the thesis to construct closed categories, in the following pages an approach to some types of social organisation is undertaken in order to introduce possible key social actors.

3.2.1 Associations of 'foreign immigrants'

Often 'foreign immigrants' are constrained by the rest of society to live in enclosed groups with a high degree of internal self-dependence (Harris, 1996). Thus, according to Harris, associations are created in a community, particularly for those persons who are limited because they lack competence in the local language(s), and it is in this way that they find a place to meet and talk. Some groups create sports, social or cultural clubs, others set up savings and credit associations, and there are also religious associations. Some of these 'formally' organised 'foreign immigrants' who become fluent in the local language(s) may act as mediators with the rest of society, and it is in this way that associations of 'foreign immigrants' may become a training ground for political participation in the wider society. Furthermore, it has to be taken into account that transnational migrations also give way to some kinds of transnational politics, because some political parties and groups from countries with significant emigration operate in the countries where those migrants arrive, collecting money to support struggles (or charities) in the 'homeland' or, when they are from particularly oppressive countries, to construct 'reserve armies' for the opposition movement.

In the specialised literature several classifications of associations of 'foreign immigrants' can be found. Some follow criteria that correspond to almost exclusive characteristics of immigrants, but others may be generalised to other kinds of associations. Some key criteria are the following:

The length of time

The change from temporary migration to permanent migration as time goes by may imply a change of perspective in relation to political organisations and other forms of

migrants' organisation. Thus, according to Piore (1979), temporary migrants do not have excessive interest in the arrival society nor for their communities, and this fact may have an impact in their associative participation; furthermore, immigrants' lack of stability make it difficult for leaders to appear. However, for Piore, all these problems may be solved with a settlement and stabilisation of these immigrant communities. In this context, Zig Layton-Henry (1990) created a typology of associations with certain impact on the literature on immigration issues, based on the time passed since the arrival of the immigrant communities to a concrete society. According to his study on north-western European countries, associations are initially established to preserve culture, religion, language and the 'ethnic identity' of migrant groups, but inevitably, as time goes by, a major relationship with the authorities of the country of arrival is produced.

Functional criteria

Another typology is established according to the functions carried out by foreign immigrants' associations. Thus, with southern European cases in mind, Rafael Guardo Polo (1992) distinguishes four types:

- Protest associations
- Organisations dedicated to social management
- Informative associations aiming to raise awareness
- Associations with several functions (mixed functions).

'Ethnic' criteria

John Rex (1994), following the classification of the British Census of 1991, has assembled the main mobilised 'ethnic minorities' groups in the following types: Sikhs, Secular Indians, Hindus, Muslims and the Pakistani community, the East African Asian Communities, Bangladeshis, Caribbean immigrants, Irish immigrants, and Cypriots.

Geographical criteria

In a study on the association activities of Syrian and Lebanese immigrants in Buenos Aires, J. O. Bestene established four types of associations (Otero, 1993):

- Local associations (linked with the localities of origin of the immigrants)
- Restricted regional associations (according to Syrian or Lebanese nationality)

- Wider regional associations (mixed associations of Lebanese and Syrian people)
- Pan-Arabic associations (apart from Lebanese and Syrian immigrants, they include members of other Arabic countries).

Other geographical criteria have been mentioned above in relation to the general classification of social organisations (e.g. the territory where the associations' activities take place).

Dependence criteria

Another way of classifying associations takes into account to whom they are attached or on whom they are dependent. Thus Nuria del Olmo (1996), in relation to Moroccan immigration in Spain, has classified their associations in three groups:

- Governmental (dependent on the Moroccan government)
- 'Para-syndical' (linked to Spanish trade unions)
- Islamic associations (dependent on mosques).

In addition, Guzmán Alonso Moreno and Maria del Valle García García (1995), in a study for the Spanish Ministry of Social Affairs on 'foreign immigrant' associations in Madrid and Catalonia, used the following typology:

- Associations well known because their activities receive public funding
- Associations less known, without public funding, but involved in wider networks of organisations
- Unknown associations contacted through other ones; and associations that are not specific to foreign immigrants, but some of them are active members and deal with immigration issues.

Religiosity

Another classificatory criterion worth mentioning is the position with regard to religions: secularity, atheism, ascription to various faiths or to one in particular. Among the latter ones, associations can also be subdivided, as for instance in the case of the aforementioned Syrian-Lebanese associations between Christian, Muslim and Drusians. There are even studies with classifications of one of these subtypes. For example, the Italian Catholic associations created in America have been classified thus (Rosoli, quoted in Otero, 1993):

- Devotional and fraternal associations

- Charities and beneficial associations
- Protection associations (*asociaciones de tutela*)
- Cultural and popular press
- Mutual and cooperative press
- Political associations and those linked to trade unions.

Furthermore, religious temples (like mosques) have been considered a key place for social life and organisation (Joly, 1987).

Age and gender criteria

There are authors who, without establishing any systematic classification, suggest the existence of a diversification and specialisation of the associative web with the creation of women's associations (Bouziri, 1995) and young people's associations (Poinsot, 1995; Cesari, 1995).

On the other hand, but also in relation to those classifications and differences, it may be useful to remember the difficulties (or lack of interest) that immigrant associations have in being together in a federation. According to André Jenson in France there is an extraordinary dispersion and division in the immigrant associative tissue, a lack of organisative structures at a 'national' French level (federations, platforms), and their objectives are precise and limited. On the other hand, these are associations working near the problems, innovative ones, and they rarely become bureaucratic (quoted in Bouziri, 1995). The problem of the lack of federations exists also in Germany, where during the 1980s there were only federations according to the same nationality (Fijalkowski, 1994).

After this overview of some ways of classifying immigrants' associations, it is possible to grasp the existence of multiple ways to study them. Some of these classifications are complementary and, below, it might be useful to use some of them in relation to Barcelona and Lisbon. However, in several cases, they offer just 'nominalist' approaches which do not allow us to study in depth the key dynamic processes where associations may be involved.

In general these classifications of 'immigrant' associations are distant from the perspective of authors such as Jesús Ibáñez, Tomás Rodríguez Villasante or Carlos Sánchez Casas (with the exception of Rafael Guardo Polo), thus, it can be interesting to consider the kind of actions and activities that 'foreign immigrant' associations may undertake initially.

'Foreign immigrant' associations, generally, set out to provide some services and/or 'direct actions' of diverse kinds. Documents, housing and work are the main worries of 'foreign immigrants' (Aiguabella *et al.*, 1995) in southern Europe, but in the *provision of services*, the cases of North America and Australia (Jenkins and Sauber, 1988; Casey, 1988) may be illustrative of the kind of activities 'foreign immigrant' associations can carry out in post-fordist times. In relation to housing issues, services can be of two main kinds: *active* support for finding accommodation (advance payment of the monthly rents, intervention as mediator with the landlord or the social services bureaucracy, and, less likely, providing housing directly). *Indirect* support can focus on the acquisition of accommodation (placing adverts of empty houses, providing landlords' names, or acting as translators and interpreters). In relation to work issues, services can be of three kinds: professional and job training, direct activities in order to find employment, and legal advice and mediation with public authorities.

On the other hand, *direct actions* in labour issues can be of diverse kind, although in most cases they are organised by salaried workers⁴⁹. In some European countries, there are some instances of struggles over work issues carried out by associations or informal groups of 'foreign immigrants' as a response to the lack of help from some trade unions (Müter, Tegels, 1995; T.I.M., 1994). Thus, Müter and Tegels suggest the existence in the Netherlands of a group of action and solidarity composed of people with Dutch nationality and 'foreigners'. In the case of the collective T.I.M., based in Berlin, they are a group of construction foreign workers (both from within and outside the European Union) who, in the face of passivity from German trade

⁴⁹ However, direct actions carried out by businessmen are also possible. For instance, in 1992 Los Angeles riots, Korean entrepreneurs were in conflict with urban black Americans (Castles, Miles, 1998).

unions, became self-organised in order to defend their rights at the work place⁵⁰. Also in Berlin, during the 1980s, there was a significant participation of young Kurdish and Turkish people in the squatter movement. In the case of London, it is also interesting to note the existence of a number of young Spanish, Italian and Portuguese people living in squats⁵¹.

However, these direct actions are uncommon among 'foreign immigrants' from non-European Union countries, who are under a constant threat of expulsion if they break the law even if they have residence permits (and always if they do not have documents). Furthermore, this kind of action is mainly undertaken by informal groups, and thus may be better connected with the kind of social movements mentioned in section 3.2.4.

3.2.2. Trade unions and 'foreign immigrants'

In the last decades, working class composition is becoming more diverse almost everywhere, as women and 'foreign immigrants' are increasingly becoming part of the waged workforce. At the same time the organisations which traditionally specialised in defending labour rights, the trade unions, are also changing, some in decline, others growing (Moody, 1997). In this sense, according to Nigel Harris (1996):

Even the impoverished worker shapes his or her environment. Given the opportunity of mass leverage, immigrants join trade unions in disproportionate numbers and are active in resisting their exploitation. From the great strikes in the motor industry in France to the multitude of local disputes in small factories, immigrant workers have reacted in ways identical to those of the natives. Official unions are in general supportive, although as with all disputes they keep one eye firmly fixed on their reputation in established society. The erosion of union power in the 1980s to some extent makes them more dependent upon the energies of immigrants. (Harris, 1996: 54-55)

However, this erosion of union power runs parallel to a greater bureaucratisation and institutionalisation of trade unions in Europe (a situation that has led to complex relations between trade unions of enriched and impoverished countries, since in the

⁵⁰ Among them there were Spanish workers: according to a bulletin published by T.I.M., in the summer of 1994 there were strikes of workers of this nationality in Berlin-Brandenburg. These construction workers were suffering similar problems to those repatriated to Madrid in the summer of 1996, after not being paid by the employers (*Avui*, 20-8-96).

⁵¹ As a trace of such presence, it can be mentioned the bilingual English-Spanish publication of some leaflets available in the Hackney-based Squatters' advisory service. Hackney is one of the poorest neighbourhoods in London.

latter labour conditions are much worse). In this sense, Kim Moody has noted that 'many top trade union leaders embrace a new 'realism' that says competitive business considerations must be adhered to, cooperation with management is the means to that end, and partnership with national or regional capital is the road to employment stabilization' (Moody, 1997: 53).

These processes, in some places, may have influenced negatively the sometimes difficult participation of foreign workers in trade unions and encouraged immigrant associations or groups to enter the political arena on their own to deal with labour issues (as in the case of foreign construction workers in Berlin). An approach to the role of trade unions in the face of the arrival of foreign workers to western European countries can be realised on the basis of the French and British experiences⁵².

Thus, north-western European countries have faced at least three dilemmas in order to react to the arrival of immigrant workers and the consolidation of 'ethnic minorities' (Penninx and Roosbald, quoted in Wrench and Virdee, 1995)⁵³:

- a) Resistance to immigration *versus* cooperation and trying to influence immigration governmental policies;
- b) Inclusion *versus* non-inclusion of foreign workers as members of trade unions once they have arrived;
- c) The third dilemma was equal treatment *versus* special treatment once immigrants' incorporation in trade unions was already a fact or their inclusion was attempted.

More recently, John Wrench (1997), as result of a comparative study of relations between foreign immigration and trade unions in the European Union countries, has suggested the existence of a fourth dilemma related to 'illegal' work, mainly

⁵² Another interesting case is in the USA, especially the process of creation and formation of trade unionism in the Northern states while the migration and settlement of Black Americans from the Southern states to the Northern industrialised states took place (see Wieviorka, 1992). However, because of geographical and political proximity, because of the significant presence of colonial and post-colonial migrations that include immigrants from Africa and non-Japanese Asia (which could be a referent for the Spanish and Portuguese cases), the countries selected have been Britain and France.

⁵³ John Wrench and Satnam Virdee make reference to 'ethnic minorities' as 'visible minorities', a term that includes also workers with phenotypical features considered as 'different' by most of the population, although they may have a passport with the nationality of the country where they live.

characteristic of southern European countries, but also as time goes by, more common in north-western European countries:

The dilemma for unions is that organising migrant workers in the illegal labour market implies an acceptance, or even an encouragement, of a group of workers whose presence undermines the conditions that unions have long fought for. Unions in Southern European countries are working to get undocumented migrants organised and legitimised, and this means that until they have achieved work permits for the undocumented workers, the unions are implicitly accepting the law-breaking of the employers. (Wrench, 1997: 39)

In the context of north African migrations to France in the 1960s and early 1970s, Bernabé López García (1993) has exposed how the trade unions' 'discourse', during those 'guest-workers' years, was focused on the equality of rights between foreign workers and French workers in the struggle against discrimination in salaries, access to jobs, training, trade union freedoms, accommodation and social and family benefits⁵⁴. However, the focus of López García's work is on discourse, and, as Ireland (1994) suggests, after a fieldwork research, real practice is more complex. Also in terms of discourse, the British Trade Union Congress (TUC) in those years took a similar position in relation to Afro-Caribbean and Asian immigration, as can be inferred from the words of a trade union leader who in the mid-1960s affirmed that all workers should have equal rights and no special treatment was necessary (Wrench and Virdee, 1995).

However, in France, with the change of migration policy in relation to North Africa (restrictions on the entry of foreign workers) and the following change of pattern of these movements of population (arrival of migrant workers' families), from 1976 the trade unions' discourse introduced in their claims and their programmes for action a defence of immigrants' specificity. These events took place in an international context marked by the development of Islamic movements after the Iranian revolution in the late 1970s, a fact that was influential in the use by the CGT of the language of Islam to approach immigrants during the strikes of 1982. As years have gone by, as Islamism has been increasingly considered by the European mass media as a danger, this conjuncturalism of the early 1980s has been losing ground, although according to Bernabé López it contributed to the diffusion of a new model of north African immigrant insertion in French society.

⁵⁴ This line of thinking was defined in a document of the second National Conference on immigration organised in 1969 by the French CGT, the trade union closer to the Communist Party.

In Britain also the TUC, in the early 1970s, started to adopt specific policies towards immigrants, especially in the fight against racism. This was due to the growing organisation of trade unionists in anti-racist groups, to the disputes which occurred during the 1960s and 1970s caused by racist trade unionist attitudes to 'black workers' on strike, and the increasing influence of extreme-right groups such as the National Front who were supporting a division between 'white' and 'black' workers. It was in this context that the TUC, earlier opposed to any legislation on 'race relations', started active campaigns against racism within the workers' movement. Thus, at the end of the 1970s and early 1980s the TUC started to produce educational and training documents on equal opportunities and racism to be used in trade union training courses. After a time, many trade union branches created anti-racist committees and structures. However, currently, in Britain, in relation to the high proportion of Asian and Afro-Caribbean workers who joined the unions in the 1950s and 1960s, the participation of 'ethnic minorities' has decreased. This situation may be due to several factors: difficulties in the incorporation process to trade unions due to the economic restructuring, difficulties created for trade unions action as a consequence of the labour legislation dictated by the previous Tory government, conflicts within the workers' movement on strategies and values to be adopted, or high levels of unemployment among black workers.

It has also been suggested that the decrease in affiliation rates is due to a certain disillusionment experienced by 'first generation' immigrant workers and ethnic minorities, and because it has been taken for granted that their children (the so-called 'second generation') were going to have an automatic sympathy for trade unions. Indeed, from some sections of already organised immigrant workers, there have been voices supporting the creation of their own labour structures or trade unions (Wrench and Virdee, 1995). But this kind of situation is not new: in the 1960s, within the German workers' movement, there was a polemic between some German trade union leaders and some leaders of the Spanish immigrant workers due to the creation of Spanish trade union branches outside the German trade unions (Pascual de Sans, 1970).

In Spain, Article 10 of the Foreigners' Law 7/1985 includes the right of foreign workers to participate in trade unions and the right to strike⁵⁵. However, as Lorenzo Cachón (1994) has suggested, the participation of foreign immigrants in trade unions' structure is complex and slow although there seem to be some improvements, particularly among North African immigrants, chiefly Moroccans. Thus Cachón notes that the two main trade unions, Comisiones Obreras (CCOO) and Unión General de Trabajadores (UGT), have carried out several campaigns to support immigrants' needs, and they have promoted their participation in trade unions (in 1993 Comisiones Obreras claimed to have around 9,000 north African members in Spain as a whole). However, this presence was mostly limited to those trade union structures in charge of immigration issues, as the Centros de Información a Trabajadores Extranjeros (CITE) of CCOO, and the Centros Guía of UGT (in Catalonia, UGT information centres are called AMIC).

In Portugal also, according to Vítor Ferreira (1996), foreign workers have recognised the freedom of participation in trade unions. In this way, there is freedom to constitute trade unions, to belong to the unions, to organise and regulate the unions internally, and there is the right to exercise participation in the company. Immigrant workers also have the right to participate in elections (and be elected) at the work place, and to participate in the activities of the workers' commissions in order to defend their interests and democratically intervene in the life of the company. The members of such workers' commissions enjoy the legal protection afforded to union delegates. In relation to other labour rights, foreign workers have the right to strike (Ferreira, 1996).

However, according to Machado (1993) in general, because there are hard and informal conditions in the economic sectors where they work (with a general low organisation rate), the possibilities of foreign workers joining trade unions are few⁵⁶.

⁵⁵ "Se reconoce a los trabajadores extranjeros que se hallen legalmente en España el derecho de afiliarse libremente al sindicato u organización profesional españoles de su elección y el derecho a huelga, que ejercerán, en las mismas condiciones que los trabajadores españoles, de acuerdo con lo dispuesto en las respectivas leyes reguladoras" (*Ley y Reglamento de Extranjería*, Madrid: BOE, 1997, second edition).

⁵⁶ In a research project on immigrants from Portuguese-speaking countries in Lisbon, Heloísa Perista e Manuel Pimenta (1993) found that only 21 percent were involved in trade unions.

Although, for instance, in the case of Brazilians the situation is different, they are mostly highly skilled and semi-skilled workers (Carlos and Borges, 1994)⁵⁷ and can join unions more easily. Trade unions' concern for the situation of immigrants is significant: for instance, in the 1996 regularisation campaign an information guide was published by the CGTP, and, on the other hand, the UGT that same year organised a project (with European Union funding) aiming at the social integration of young 'Africans', the children of African immigrants.

Although, data on trade union membership is not clear, Phillipe C. Schmitter (1999), based on the work of Jelle Visser, gathers information for all southern European countries, as Table 1 indicates.

Table 1. (Declared) Membership in Southern European trade unions, 1989

	Total number of members	% of the active population
Portugal:		
CGTP.....	550,000	
UGT.....	350,000	
Independents.....	100,000	
Total.....	1,000,000	28.6%
Spain:		
CCOO.....	477,000	
UGT.....	490,000	
USO.....	35,000	
CGT.....	16,000	
Independents.....	50,000	
Total.....	1,068,000	9.3%
Italy:		
CGIL.....	5,026,851	
CISL.....	3,379,028	
UIL.....	1,439,216	
Independents.....	n.d.	
Total.....	9,845,095	39.6%
Greece:		
GCDEE.....	564,000	
ADEDY.....	100,000	
Independents.....	n.d.	
Total.....	664,000	35.0%

Source: Schmitter (1999), p. 418.

⁵⁷ Carlos, M.L.P; Borges, G.G. (1994) *Portugal, Nouveau Pays de Immigration-Preventing Racism at the Workplace*, Lisboa: Instituto de Estudos para o Desenvolvimento.

3.2.3 *'Foreign immigrants' and NGOs*

As it has been noted, non-governmental organisations (NGOs) can be divided in two groups: 'support/services' and 'mixed'. As Rafael Crespo (1997: 331-333) has noted, 'mixed associations' appear as a result of personal relations between local people and immigrants and it can be an answer to, for instance, police aggression in a locality or neighbourhood, or relations between teachers and students in colleges: 'these organisations become inter-cultural spaces where locals and immigrants have to learn to work and to live together'. According to Crespo, one of the difficulties these associations find is the role of immigrants in directory bodies, because the way these associations are created makes it easy for local people to have a major role in the leadership. However, it is possible that internal work may overcome this trend and obtain a more equal distribution of responsibilities.

Another kind of NGO is characterised basically by the provision of services. For John Casey (1996), these associations are a result of a 'crisis' in the welfare state due to neoliberal logic and which aims to force public authorities to delegate some functions to private organisations (in this case the so-called 'third sector'); furthermore, these organisations are also a consequence of a certain disillusion of other ways in political participation, an increase of solidarity values among some social groups, a search of more 'efficiency', and a need for places for socialisation.

In relation to the functioning of NGOs, Rafael Crespo (1997), based on some suggestions by Jorge Riechman and Francisco Fernández Buey, indicates that this kind of organisation is composed of three social segments: a) a group of instigators including social and cultural services professionals of the public sector, who after a certain period of contact with immigrants' problems, decide to act; b) a group of 'volunteers' on which the organisation is based, composed of people outside the labour market (students, unemployed, elderly people, etc.), in other words, individuals with more time flexibility than most salaried workers, so they can help in bureaucratic procedures in office time or organise language classes in the evenings; c) liberal

professionals (lawyers, doctors, academics, etc.) who assess concrete questions such as legal issues or didactic materials, and participate in the training of NGO staff.

3.2.4. 'Informal' social movements and 'foreign immigration'

One of the most clear instances of this kind of collective mobilisation can be found in the *sans papiers* (people without papers) of Paris, where a group of 'foreign immigrants' without French documents (*dedocumented* by the French government) started a social struggle to claim the regularisation of their situation in France. Their action achieved international dimension when they squatted in the Saint-Bernard church (Paris) during the summer of 1996, and it was again in the international media in February 1997 when the French citizen Jacqueline Deltombe was condemned because she hosted in her house a Zairian person in an 'irregular' situation.

In contrast to this kind of terminology (irregular, clandestine, undocumented, illegal, without papers) I have suggested the term *dedocumented people*⁵⁸, because having or not having documents is not intrinsically characteristic of the described person. On the contrary, immigrants who arrive in France, Spain or Portugal from another country, had, in their country of origin (even if their situation was really precarious), some documents which guaranteed them minimum rights. It is when the state border is crossed that there is a juridical-administrative 'change' which may lead to a lack of the documents required by the country of arrival. Then, it is the state of the cynically called 'host' country which is responsible for some immigrants' lack of documents, because it is that government which has not facilitated to newcomers the documents which it has deemed compulsory in order to be able to access certain rights. Thus, the state can be considered as responsible for such *dedocumentation*, and it may be suggested that these immigrants be termed *dedocumented*, because they have not broken the law (which is suggested by the term 'illegal'), they have not committed an irregularity

⁵⁸ This concept was introduced in my conference paper submitted in January 1996 at the International Seminar on *Undocumented Immigrants in the Labour Market: Policy Responses*, that took place in Brussels and was organised by the Higher Institute of Labour Studies (HIVA), K.U.- Leuven.

(which is suggested by the term 'irregular'), they do not lack any documents (as is suggested by the term 'undocumented'), they do not lack any kind of 'papers' nor live clandestinely (for instance, north American dedocumented immigrants in Barcelona or Lisbon, who have lived there for years, pretend to be tourists when questioned by police and do not have any problems).

If the focus is in the movement of the *sans papiers*, this movement had been working without any legal structuration as an association, although it had the support of several kinds of formal organisations. As one of their speakers, Madjiguène Cissé (1996) has written, the fight taught them to be autonomous, although it was not easy: there were associations that appeared to support them because they had the habit of helping immigrants in struggle. Then they had to say: 'but we can explain ourselves very well'. In order to be autonomous they learned that they also needed to work democratically, in order to take their own decisions. As Cissé recalls, their organisation in a democratic way was not an easy work, the realisation of general assemblies and the recognition of women's participation in assemblies took time and effort. The women's role was key in the success of the *sans papiers*, they fought to keep mobilisation going during negotiations with the government, and were speakers for their movement to the media and other social organisations.

However, the *sans papiers* movement is not isolated. As Cissé notes, during actions they had to affirm several identities, for instance their identity as workers: 'The aim of the attacks against us was to make us precarious workers. But we are not the only ones threatened by precariousness: lots of French workers are also in this situation ... currently our relationships with trade unions are very good' (Cissé, 1996: 170). Today the *sans papiers* movement is more influential than when that article was written. For instance, during March 1999, Cissé visited Barcelona and Madrid to raise awareness of the international character of their situation, shared by people in the whole of Europe and beyond. She hoped also to strengthen their links with Spanish-based immigrant associations and other social organisations supporting immigrants' rights.

3.2.5 Employers' and business organisations and 'foreign immigrants'

Employers' organisations are in general representatives of capital interests, and thus are more likely to be systemic organisations than social organisations⁵⁹. However, systemic organisations, because they are shaped by 'human beings', give way to a certain kind of internal 'sociability' (different from the previous ones), even if paradoxically their implicit aims lead to the destruction of humanity and social life, profit, the market and competition being their sources of inspiration. Although in section 3.1 it has been already suggested, according to such authors like Bottomore (1989) that there may be a common 'capitalists' collective action, this possibility has been an object of debate, mainly since the 1980s. In this sense, Franz Traxler (1991) suggested two main questions in relation to employers' organisations: on the one hand, to what extent do employers depend on the creation of formal associations in order to defend their objectives in the labour market? Thus, already in the nineteenth century Friedrich Engels doubted the employers' need of formal organisations because they were always organised (their small number and their continuous commercial inter-relations would make any organisation superfluous). However, although empirical evidence does not confirm today such a supposition, for Traxler, a milder version of Engels' argument can be adequate: employers, due to their class position, have less need to be formally organised than other social groups.

Then, if one recognises the possible need of employers' organisations, Traxler wonders whether today's employers can be properly organised in order to reach common goals. To answer such a question, it has to be taken into account that employers' interests are just a fraction of capitalists' interests (for instance, other capitalists with interests different to those of the employers may be organised in trade associations or financial associations) and that employers' organisations act in relation to the role of workers' trade unions (and the other way round).

⁵⁹ It is possible to find exceptional historical instances of organised factions of the capitalist class in a given place that have opposed global capital, but it is not usual.

In reference to relations between employers' organisations at an international level, Dieter Sadowski and Otto Jacobi (1991) have noted the tension between rivalry for markets and common action at supra-national European level: 'Here it is not evident at all whether the employers' associations will be able and willing to organise according to class interests, or to ally themselves with 'their' trade unions along national lines of interest' (Sadowski, Jacobi, 1991: 9).

On the other hand, in the same context where these question marks appear (although often without taken them into account), there have appeared a series of researches focused on the so-called 'ethnic business' (e.g. Phizacklea, Ram, 1995; Basi, Johnson, 1996). This literature have been focused on the creation of small business by 'foreign immigrants' and 'ethnic minorities' in Western European countries, but their possible relations with the employers structure in those countries have not been taken into account.

However, Colectivo Ioé (1998), in a study of Polish and Moroccan foreign workers in the construction sector in Spain, undertook an overview of the relations between employers' organisations and trade unions between 1939 and 1997 (these decades are divided into five periods: 'autarchic', 'developist', 'social pacts', 'rupture', and 'return to social pacts'). Unfortunately, they do not make explicit the position of immigrants in industrial relations, and foreign workers are just analysed isolated in another chapter.

In this chapter, literature on social movements and the organisation of international immigrants has been approached. However, in order to carry out research on such issues in Lisbon and Barcelona during the late 1990s, a epistemological and methodological reflection is needed.

Thus in the next chapter an outline of the theoretical perspectives adopted (underlying 'open marxism', libertarian positions and eco-feminism), the selection process of the methodological approach used (taking into account the complexities of qualitative and comparative research and reflexivity) and, furthermore, the concrete characteristics of

the fieldwork are detailed (including the interviews plan, participation in social movements and organisations, and gathering statistical data).

4. Epistemological and Methodological elements

Inquirido sobre a sua raça, respondeu:

- A minha raça sou eu, João Passarinheiro.

Convidado a explicar-se, acrescentou:

- A minha raça sou eu mesmo. A pessoa é uma humanidade individual. Cada homem é uma raça, senhor polícia.

Mia Couto (1990) *Cada Homem é uma raça*.

According to some authors, it is clear that scientific researches are not neutral (Feyerabend, 1984). To choose to study some issues rather than others implies a kind of orientation more or less concrete, and if we think for what and for whom the research is done (Villasante, 1995) we will perceive some possible beneficiaries and sufferers of such a study (Lacoste, 1976). Furthermore, in Gramsci's words:

"Is not science itself 'political activity' and political thought, in as much as it transforms men, and makes them different from what they were before? If everything is 'politics', then it is necessary - in order to avoid lapsing into a wearisome and tautological catalogue of platitudes - to distinguish by means of new concepts between on the one hand the politics which corresponds to that science which is traditionally called 'philosophy', and on the other the politics which is called political science in the strict sense. If science is the 'discovery' of formerly unknown reality, is this reality not conceived of in certain senses as transcendent? And is it not thought that there still exists something 'unknown' and hence transcendent? And does the concept of science as 'creation' not then mean that it too is 'politics'? Everything depends on seeing whether the creation involved an 'arbitrary', or whether it is rational - i.e. 'useful' to men in that it enlarges their concept of life, and raises to a higher level (develops) life itself." (Gramsci: 1930-35: 245)

In the case of this research project, which sets out to answer some questions related to the characteristics of social movements, organisations and public authorities linked to 'foreign immigration', it seems relevant to take into account all those aspects, because of the usual simplification in the mass media of migration issues, because of the delicate situation of some people who collaborated in the research, and because the possible private use of the outcomes (in a context of continuous privatisation of public universities), should prevent researchers from being naive.

In the following pages, the theoretical approach to reality more influential to this thesis, the selection process of the methodological approach (including comments on

why qualitative research is done) and the concrete characteristics of the fieldwork carried out for this thesis are shown.

4.1. Theoretical approaches

In a previous piece of work several approaches to reality have been taken into account⁶⁰: the nominalist approach, the stratigraphic model, the social differentiation model, the structuration theory, the global-local dichotomy, the social exclusion paradigm, and historical-geographical materialism. To them the minimalist approach and the rhizomatic approach can be added. However, in this thesis just Open Marxism will be mentioned in a summarised way, in connection to other related approaches. This can be considered the most influential approach to reality for this thesis, although not the only one.

Historical materialism was proposed by Friedrich Engels as a method for analysis opposed to idealism. It emphasises the material basis of society and looks at the historical development of social relations in order to understand social change: thus historical materialism assumes the importance of ideas, but it argues that life is not determined by consciousness, but consciousness by life; as social beings, men and women develop their material production and their material relations and, in this way, their history and the products of their thinking (Smith, 1994). However, as philosopher Carlos Fernández Liria (1998) has noted, Marx did not found anything like a ‘dialectical materialism’ nor a ‘historical materialism’ understood as a science of universal history (even if in a moment he considered the possibility of doing so). Instead, Marx focused most of his work on trying to shed light on the economic law that rules the movement of modern society. In any case, Neil Smith (1994) notes that in geographical research, ‘historical materialism’ became relevant during the 1970s, trying to explain processes and models of spatial and environmental change as a result of social relations specific to capitalism and other modes of production.

⁶⁰ Concretely, in my MPhil thesis “Immigració estrangera, integracions i organitzacions socials a Barcelona” submitted at the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona and directed by Àngels Pascual de Sans.

During the mid 1990s, David Harvey (1996), after indicating the existence of some current debates on theorising and how difficult it is to theorise and to create theory, suggested a materialist and historical-geographical (dialectical) theoretical position, because it allows him to deal with totalities, particularities, movement and fixity and, in a sense, it is possible to embrace several other ways of theorising within its framework. In this way, Harvey considers that with this theory it is possible to take into account spatiality, in a context where the insertion of spatial concerns within most of the social theorisations (dialectical or not) have often disrupted the way in which theory can be made concrete and made to work: thus socio-theoretical meta-narratives (as in the case of Marx and Weber) have usually focused on temporal change processes, keeping spatiality constant (in other words, such meta-narratives did not take space into account). However, Harvey separates himself from 'post-modern' and 'post-structuralist' authors who during the last years have invoked spatiality to upset meta-narratives. Instead, his objective is to try to reconstruct a 'Marxian meta-theory' which may allow incorporation and understanding of spatio-temporality: he indicates the need for theorising what may mean space's production. In any case, he considers that in order to reach such an aim it is necessary to understand in another way how to construct theory and how a 'meta-theory' has to be. Thus the first step Harvey goes in this direction is to provide dialectics with a basis, although he recognises that whilst a significant part of Marxist thought is non-dialectical or clearly anti-dialectical, there is an old tradition of dialectical thought that is non-Marxist. Equally, there are several interpretations of dialectics within the 'Marxist tradition'.

Furthermore, as Tomás Rodríguez Villasante (1995b) notes, Marxism has never existed, only several different groups that claim to be Marxists. The collapse of the Eastern European countries (where Marxism became dogma) may lead to a certain freedom to re-conceptualise without the ballast of that 'real' referent. Moreover, Villasante also notes that Marx's works were useful in providing answers to the social movements of his time, and to advance ideas and methods that nowadays can be useful in facing current problems. However, for Villasante, a review of Marx's work has to be done without forgetting that his work, because it is human, is partial and unfinished, and that it is not helpful to keep on repeating his texts as unquestionable truths.

Perhaps in this way of questioning, Harvey (1996) also takes into account that reducing dialectics to a group of 'principles' may be self-destructive, because dialectics are a process and not a thing, a process where 'Cartesian separations between mind and matter, between thought and action, between consciousness and materiality, between theory and practice have no purchase'.⁶¹

Also in this mood of self-reflection, Werner Bonefeld, Richard Gunn, John Holloway and Kosmas Psychopedis (1992a, 1992b, 1995) offered a series of books under the name of *Open Marxism* having as their first concern the emancipation of Marx (and Marxism) from the sociological and economic heritage which has grown up around it under the banner of 'scientific Marxism', and which had a serious detrimental effect on it. At the same time, a second concern of their project was to understand Marx and Marxism as emancipating: they regard Open Marxism as 'the site of a self-reflection which clears the way towards a defetishised and emancipated social world'. However, they also make clear that the Open Marxism project 'does not aim to reconstruct Marx's thought in the sense of presenting an interpretation which masquerades as the sole 'correct' one', because such an 'approach would not be helpful, for it presupposes the possibility of a uniform and finished interpretation of Marx's work'. Instead they wish to 'reconstruct the pertinent theses of his work with a view of freeing them from the ballast of their dogmatic presentation' (Bonefeld, Gunn, Holloway, Psychopedis, 1995: 1).

Central to their approach is an emphatic endorsement of Marx's notion between theory and practice. In contrast, in the tradition of Marxist 'orthodoxy' the dialectical unity of theory and practice is taken as referring to a 'field of application', which is highly misleading, because social practice is constructed as something which exists outside the theoretical 'realm' and conversely; thus there obtains a dualism between 'theory' and 'practice', between 'philosophy' and the 'human world', just as in 'bourgeois theory'. According to Bonefeld *et al.*, within the orthodox Marxist tradition, the

⁶¹ However, this geographer considers that to gather some dialectics principles may be a necessary step to later entry into a terrain where principles are implicit and disappear within the flow of theoretical and political practices, in the way Marx embedded dialectical practices in *Capital*.

dualism between theory and practice appears in the form of a distinction between the logic of capital, on the one hand, and social practice, on the other (the contradictions of capitalism are seen as existing independently of social practice and are conceived as objective laws of capital). Modern versions of orthodox Marxism no longer even claim to be concerned with revolutionary transformation, and thus Marxist theory becomes just a more sophisticated theory of capitalist reproduction (or 'regulation').

At the heart of the issue of emancipation, Bonefeld *et al.* include experience, although they are opposed to empiricist notions of experience (because they are passive). For them, experience is understood as opposition and resistance to inhuman conditions which are the reality of capitalist relations of exploitation - slavery, genocide, dehumanisation of the social individual (especially women), the destruction of the environment, etc. Thus, their project is 'the serious attempt to theorise this experience, and to understand itself as part of this experience, that distinguishes emancipatory theory (open Marxism) from other approaches. ... (This is not to fall into spontaneism, for spontaneism takes experience in its untheorised immediacy, forgetting that experience is shaped by, and shapes, the forms of the social world through which it exists).' (Bonefeld *et al.*, 1995: 3). Furthermore, for them, Open Marxism must criticise not only a perverted social existence but also the perversion through which it exists; there is a need to be critical about other theories, including the dogmatic teleology of history (according to which the objective laws of capitalism will automatically lead from capitalist necessity to socialist freedom), and the romantic endorsement of the emancipatory subject (which is seen as existing as unmediated human creativity, standing in relation to direct confrontation with the capitalist world): in both cases, the revolutionary subject is seen as being external to its own perverted world.

In contrast to such misleading approaches, for Bonefeld *et al.* (1995), there have been other ways that have challenged both orthodox marxism and bourgeois theories, and this is the case of their project, Open Marxism:

Marxism's continued self-reflection upon itself goes forward through the concept of mediation and the method of dialectics. Dialectical theory confronts existing social and theoretical forms with a comprehensive conception of content, materiality and humanity. These forms subsist in a reified and self-contradictory way. Thus, the contradictory integration between form and content

underlies the possibility of critique and supplies materiality to the transcendence of existing forms. Social transcendence and social reproduction obtains as a unity (a self-contradictory unity) of unity and difference.

This dialectical tension between reproduction and transcendence cannot be addressed in scientific terms, because it questions the separation between 'is' and 'ought' upon which scientism is founded. Dialectical theory presupposes value-judgements which negate the existing perversions of social existence in favour of a human world of autonomy, cooperation and social solidarity. These value-judgements both inform and are informed by our understanding of the experience of opposition and of resistance alike.

In the past, emancipatory theory has been reluctant to address directly the problems of 'values' ... We wish to challenge this conception and propose a reassessment of the issue. ... A Marxist theory which deems values to be irrational is treading the same path as bourgeois theory since Max Weber. (Bonefeld *et al.*, 1995: 4)

However, being against the supposed 'objectivity' of 'scientific' approaches is not to be against science at all. Paul Feyerabend's works may be helpful in situating this critique to false objectivity from philosophy of science. This Austrian Philosopher became well known in scientific circles when *Against Method* was published (1975), because there he tried to set his epistemological anarchism in philosophy of science, which defended a multiple approach to reality. Feyerabend's approach to reality is characterised by a 'hypothetical realism', which does not have as basis for research theories that were demonstrated as true, it is just assuming them as true. According to the Portuguese philosopher Porfirio Silva (1998), Feyerabend understands 'realism' itself as an hypothesis (a particular theory) about the relation between human-beings and the world, and not as an unalterable and definitive assumption of knowledge. This hypothetical realism is epistemological, heuristic, in the sense that is not limited to a way of describing research results: to assume a theory as true indicates strategies for research and provides suggestions to resolve problems. There is a fruitful interaction between this kind of realism and the scientific practice: once a global theory affects our conception about reality, it provides orientations to the preference for certain ways of theoretical development, it suggests ways for experimental work, it helps in the selection of promising trails. This is important because it is true that is not possible to do everything at the same time, neither during a life or a generation (Silva, 1998). In this sense, there is a certain link between Feyerabend and the Open Marxism project since both are supporting the interaction between theory and practice during research.

The work of Feyerabend had significant changes in orientation during his philosophical life. Thus, in Porfirio Silva's words, he suffered an epistemological 'relativist deviance' in *Farewell to Reason* during the mid 1980s, but Feyerabend in his latest works (in the

late 80s and early 90s) went back to 'hypothetical realism'. In some published 'conversations' he re-considered some of the relativist positions written in that book and suggested that both 'relativism' and 'absolutism' are chimeras, and that there is not just one way to approach the physical world, although not all approaches are useful and correct. He stresses that some methods may be useful in a concrete historical moment, but not in other moments (Feyerabend refuses any procedure that tries to isolate and stabilise a 'discourse on method', that tries to escape to the historicity that science shares with any human enterprise). Probably, the most interesting 're-consideration' referred to the relation between theory and practice; Feyerabend wrote a self-critique:

Most philosophers are so distant of details of scientific research and political action that their advice is an exercise of low-quality comedy. My suggestion on not changing traditions is an excellent example. Now I understand to what extent I fell down into such a trap. Traditions like military, economic or apparent spiritual power have frequently oppressed weaker powers. In most cases, although not always, the consequences were a disaster. (Quoted in Silva, 1998; translation is mine).

Thus, Feyerabend is an illustrative instance of the importance of political involvement in research, in other words, of linking theory and practice.

Ecofeminism also links theory and practice. As Ariel Salleh (1997: xi) has denounced: 'the postmodern style has called one generation of students off the streets and into the salon'. Ecofeminism may carry forward four revolutions at once:

Ecofeminist politics is a feminism in as much as it offers an uncompromising critique of capitalist patriarchal culture from a womanist perspective; it is a socialism because it honours the wretched of the earth; it is an ecology because it reintegrates humanity with nature; it is a postcolonial discourse because it focuses on deconstructing Eurocentric domination. (Salleh, 1997: 192)

Ecofeminism follows a dialectical theory of signifying practice that cuts beneath the social statics of discourse analysis to a conception of agency based on the negotiation of lived contradiction:

An exploited worker might be empowered to move from subjective anger to 'objective' consciousness of her unity with a class of others. Similarly, if negative connotations attach to, say, black identity under the logic of domination, when blackness is reframed in transcendent discourse as difference, individual actors together can begin to force immanent structures to realign. What counts as emancipatory subject is that the contradictory subject 'makes herself'. (Salleh, 1997: 177-178)

If dialectics are accepted, Harvey notes the existence of a debate about the world being inherently dialectical (as Engels explicitly and Marx implicitly suggested in relation to capitalism) or dialectics being simply an ensemble of convenient assumptions or a logic to represent certain aspects of social, physical, and biological assumptions. The first possibility has been criticised due to the fact that dialectics have appeared associated with teleological ideas that seem almost deterministic in their evolving implications, often based on a synchronic and simplistic vision of thesis, anti-thesis and synthesis extracted from Hegel. In contrast, Harvey, based on Bhaskar's arguments, argues that Marx, although he started with Hegel, reached a radical materialist transformation of the latter's visions: the results are a dissolution of dialectics as logic in a flow of arguments and practices, a path that Harvey also tries to follow.

In addition, Harvey indicates an 'epistemological problem' derived from the aforementioned questions: dialectical research methods should generate a perpetual state of motion in our concepts and our thoughts, which implies the need for a great flexibility and openness, but it also implies the production of only a great variety of insecure and shifting concepts and findings. Then, following Ollman, Harvey exposes a proposal of multiple and relational approaches to phenomena which consists in trying to identify a restricted number of relevant general processes which simultaneously unify and differentiate the phenomena we see in the world around us. Thus the aim is to shift the emphasis from the search of 'order' that has characterised Western science since the Renaissance towards prioritising processes: to transform from a search to classify and categorise things and the relations between things, into a search for generative principles which produce orders (things and systems with definable quantitative and qualitative attributes) of different types. In any case, as it was mentioned above and as Harvey comments, dialectical thinking (in its 'representational' side) is one of the possible ways of approaching and understanding the human condition and the world where human life is revealed. Harvey, concretely, opposes dialectics to Cartesian thinking (that based in René Descartes' works). This Cartesian vision is considered as an alienated one by Harvey, who follows authors like Levins and Lewontin; although the former considers that in certain cases Cartesian and dialectical visions are compatible. However, Harvey makes clear that he prefers dialectical thinking because it is a superior one that allows an understanding of 'things'

and systems as if they are real and stable as a special case of the proposition that processes are always at work creating and sustaining 'things' and systems. The converse proposition appears not to hold, however. Cartesian thinking has problems to deal with changes and processes except in terms of comparative aesthetics, cause-effect feedback loops or linearities constructed examining rates of change experimentally determined and mechanically specified. Harvey exemplifies the application of dialectics in the conception of 'capital' suggested by Marx:

It is viewed, in its simplest incarnation, as a flow which at one 'moment' assumes the 'form' of money, and at another assumes the 'form' of commodities or the 'form' of productive activity ... This process definition differs radically from that typically incorporated into neoclassical economics where capital is treated as an unproblematic i.e. non contradictory stock of assets (of things) with certain qualitative and quantitative attributes ... Marx's point is not that there is no such thing as a stock of assets, but that we can not understand what those assets are about, what they are worth or how they might be used without understanding the process in which they are embedded, in particular the process which gives rise to, reconstitutes, maintains, devalues, or destroys them. When Marx argues that 'capital does' or 'capital creates' he is *not* arguing that a thing called capital has causal power, but that the process of capital circulation, understood as a whole, is at center of vital social transformations and for that reason has to be looked upon as embodying a powerful generative principle affecting social life. (Harvey, 1996: 63).

However, Harvey also gathers some critiques of this conception as, for instance, that there are other 'moments' (as 'reproduction') that also should be incorporated in the approach, but the key point for him is that any critique of Marx, at least, has to recognise what he does and how he does it, and not to read him or (mis)understand him in an irreflexive way through Cartesian, positivist or analytical leanings. As it has been noted above, through the construction of generative principles and theories, some 'Marxists' search to change the world, but it does not mean that the results of enquiry are always appropriate or that they can never be confused and destructive (Harvey, 1996). According to this geographer, who quotes Bohm and Peat, being 'marxist' or not, 'We cannot impose any worldview we like and hope that it will work ... Clearly the cost of supporting such false vision of reality must eventually be paid'.

In this sense, David Harvey, after an overview of proposals suggested by several authors, notes that during the last years it has been proposed that 'space' defines the realms of difference, alterity, uncontrol, unpredictability, uncertainty and, thus, it also defines the locus of agency and the leverage point for emancipatory politics: space would define the undomesticable residual of all the meta-theories of the social process.

Harvey considers that all those visions deserve discussion because, whilst according to Knorr-Cetina, several of these authors focus on micro-analysis (through ethnographies, discourse analysis or visual methods) that have discovered, emphasised and described the local nature of modern life, on the other hand, according to Ross, some of these authors see dialectics as related to 'time' and, then, 'space' as a way to overcome dialectics, in other words, as if time was for theorisation and space for particularist empiricism (in geography, Sayer would be included in this group). Instead, Harvey is openly opposed to the pretension that 'space' is out of theorisation, of social determination or dialectics.

In a similar way, Milton Santos (1996) considers that space is neither a thing nor a system of things, but a relational reality: things and relations together. For Santos, space has to be considered as an inseparable whole including, on the one hand, a certain disposition of geographical objects, natural objects, and social objects, and, on the other hand, the life that fills and animates them, society in movement. The content (of society) is not independent from the form (geographical objects); every form closes a whole of forms, containing fractions of society in movement. Thus, forms have a role in the realisation of what is social (Santos, 1996: 28). This Brazilian geographer differentiates space from landscape and territorial configuration: landscape is the whole of things that our senses perceive directly; territorial configuration is the total whole, integral, of all the things that form nature in its superficial and visible aspect; and space is the result of a marriage or a sacred encounter, while it lasts, between territorial configuration, landscape and society. Space is the true totality because it is dynamic, is the geographisation of society on the territorial configuration. Forms may, during a long time, keep being the same, but society is always in movement, and the same landscape, the same territorial configuration offers us, during history, different spaces (Santos, 1996: 74-75).

In relation to spaces, Harvey (1996) does not accept, in general, that 'spaces on the margin' are *per se* 'the' places of radical openness and revolutionary possibilities although he considers that it is possible to construct liberated spaces. He maintains it is possible to use social constructions of spatiality (in a real or metaphoric sense) as strategic elements within revolutionary politics; and, obviously, it can be relevant to

listen to voices from the margin for the political struggle against capitalist domination and to spatialise political strategies (geopolitics) is crucial for any emancipatory politics. In urban areas, as instances of liberated spaces are the squatted social centres (more common in Italian, Spanish and German big cities, although they can also be found in other countries such as Portugal and Britain). These are empty houses that are occupied as homes or socio-cultural 'alternative' spaces where 'social integrations' (solidarity based on mutual help) can be developed, where life worlds can be built on previous dead spaces and places. Of course, to squat does not mean automatically to free a space, but while squatting in an empty house a door is open to the possibility of liberating spaces.

4.2 Selection process of methodological approach

The learning path that allows a researcher to write a thesis is diverse. The questions set forth in this research project were basically selected according to the literature read, the images observed, brief experience as a 'young social researcher' and, last but not least, participation in social movements and organisations. One of the perceptions and concerns that appear in this study is the role of the social scientist as researcher of social issues that they want to understand, explain and, as far as it is possible, to contribute to change (or, the other way round, the role of the 'social activist' that everybody has inside and who, apart from acting, wants to understand the world where he or she lives in order to have a greater chance to make it fairer, freer or more equalitarian). All this, while of course, maintaining the scientific character of the work. As the sociologist Tomás Rodríguez Villasante wrote (1995a: 1), it was almost thirty years ago when Carlos Moya wrote the following lines that may illustrate some of the aforementioned concerns:

La soledad, el celoso retraimiento del intelectual 'moderno' a un puro quehacer teórico (a penas en contacto con la realidad del trabajo físico o del trato social afectivo), refugiándose en su conciencia subjetiva - primero, desde el enfrentamiento con la ortodoxia católica vigente (Descartes); después, desde el individualismo de la ética protestante (Kant) - son los supuestos reales de la génesis del idealismo europeo... La dialéctica histórica de Marx, con su postulado de la reciprocidad sujeto-objeto, viene posibilitada por su compromiso efectivo en la transformación del orden social de su tiempo. La eliminación del dualismo ontológico espíritu-materia, a partir

de la categoría de praxis, supone que su autor, desde su actividad revolucionaria, ha superado la tradicional división social entre trabajo material y trabajo espiritual, entre filósofo y político, entre razón pura y razón práctica.

According to Villasante, we cannot know a prefixed order which explains everything because, if we like it or not, as science advances, more complexities and chaotic situations are discovered. In this way, we sometimes have to admit that we do not know most of the causes of phenomena, we can only act on some of them to introduce a certain order and provisionality, and we are not in high-probability calculations, especially in social sciences. Even if there was a pre-established order, it would be not possible to recognise it because we are part of the process, we are part of the matter we are studying, and the instruments and techniques we are using are part of the macro-whole. In other words, we always approach reality as a (partial) science and with an ideology that we try to overcome. Nor do we understand everything that is chaotic, but we do know of a series of degenerative relations that influence us directly (for instance, relations that damage the ecosystem, exploitation relations between humans, oppressive relations between cultures, 'oedipal' relations of fear and narcissism that appear during life). In spite of that, for Villasante, it is possible to create 'temporary islands' where it is possible to feel and know of being in complex processes of quality of life (proper and sustainable), self-organisation⁶² (socialists), citizenship (instituting initiatives), creativity (de-mystification). These processes can only make sense if they are taken from the concrete daily-life totality, from the vital symptoms that affect us, from the social movements, although they may be wrong.

In any social movement it is possible to find several complementary motivations, and it is necessary to go beyond what is evident (Villasante, 1995a). As Werner Bonefeld (1995: 190) notes, there is a need for what Marx calls 'science': 'all science would be superfluous if the outward appearance and the essence of things directly coincided'. Marx emphasises that 'each, even the most simple element, such as, for example, the commodity, is already an inversion', that is, is a 'perverted form'. In other words,

⁶² The most accurate translation for 'autogestión', in alternative political terms, is Do it Yourself (DiY), as it has been named several social movements that have appeared during the 1990s in Britain. However, as Davide Però (1997) notes, the concept *autogestione* in Bologna was (mis)used by the local government as a way to avoid implementing policies and services in a context where there was problematic social situation affecting Moroccan immigrants, which had been created by the local government itself. Of course, it is cynic to suggest that self-management is possible to be achieved when people does not have full citizenship rights nor enough economic resources to live with dignity.

human relations take the form of relations between products, or between things.’ Thus a target to study in this thesis is the key ‘perverted forms’ related to the role of governments, and social movements and organisations connected with the arrival and stay of ‘foreign immigrants’ in Barcelona and Lisbon.

To go beyond what is evident it is necessary to get involved (*mojarse*), with the risks that it may imply. It has to be taken into account that social sciences may give way to reiterative and bureaucratic processes that corroborate what is often perceived as evident, or, on the other hand, social sciences may open creative practices towards innovative and dynamic social constructions. In this sense, the ‘objectivity’ principle is being substituted by the ‘reflexivity’ principle. Reality cannot be objectivated and, thus, it is necessary to use more probable constructions to approach reality, which may interact with it, and which are reflective (Villasante, 1995a).

At the start of this research project I was conscious that I was always going to be part of what I was going to study, that it was going to be difficult to gain enough distance, thus I decided to opt for a triple approach to the issue of study:

- Gathering documentary information (articles and scientific books, statistic databases, ‘grey documents’, journals and magazines, bulletins, pamphlets, posters, annual reports, activities reports, audio and video recordings
- Conducting a series of qualitative interviews of ‘key persons’ for the research topic, obtaining in this way information from a position of certain distance, empathic when possible
- Participating as a member in some organisations or social movements, making explicit that I was carrying out a research on ‘foreign immigration’.

With the combination of several techniques I was trying to eliminate relativities and increasing reflexivities. As I will make concrete below, with the third approach my intention was to obtain creative and constructive reflections, and not just supposedly aseptic descriptions. This diverse approach has been also inspired by the work of Paul Feyerabend who, in contrast to narrow-minded approaches to his thought, in *Against Method* and in other writings was not in favour of ‘everything goes’, but critical of the

faithful use of methods without reflecting on them, and suggested the use of several methods to improve scientific knowledge (Silva, 1998). Furthermore, as this Portuguese philosopher notes, Feyerabend indicates that if all the rules and procedures useful for a concrete research are enriched, it does not do justice to the richness and complexity of such a process: a research has its own dynamic. Feyerabend underlines variety, not irrationality. Porfirio Silva notes that instead of method as algorithm, Feyerabend suggests method as strategy, flexibility during the research process, and stresses that some methods may be useful in one moment in a concrete historical moment, but not in others (Silva, 1998).

Then, what are the characteristics of the methods used for this research project?

4.2.1 Qualitative and comparative research

In relation to the methodological approach, certain migration processes cannot be reconstructed from the information derived from available statistical databases; one option then is to use personal interviews as research method (Pascual de Sans, 1990). These are included among the so-called qualitative research methods. As Charles C. Ragin (1994) has suggested, statements as 'poor countries tend to have more social conflicts and political instability than rich countries' offer large generalisations that say nothing on individual cases. In these visions, a statistical database or a percentage may summarise a lot of information on a large number of cases, but a lot of information can be lost as well. Thus often researchers consider that real understanding can only be achieved through an in-depth examination of specific cases, which is more feasible with qualitative methods. For Ragin (1994), the three main objectives of qualitative research are to give voice, to interpret significant historical or cultural phenomena, and to propose theory.

On the other hand, this research project contains elements of the methods used by Patrick Ireland (1994) in his comparative research on two French and two Swiss cities, and Yasemin Soysal's (1994) study of incorporation regimes in several European countries have been taken into account. Furthermore, some writings of Ragin and Janoski have also been useful in order to structure preliminary methodological

elements for a comparative approach. As Ragin (1991) has suggested, good comparative social science balances emphasis on cases and emphasis on variables, and, for Janoski (1991), Ragin with his concept of 'synthetic strategy' implicitly suggests the use of internal and external analysis. According to Janoski (1991: 60):

Comparative research explicitly or implicitly involves two different kinds of analysis. Internal analysis refers to the analysis of one country and generalisations about each single unit. External analysis concerns the comparison of countries in the research design before the internal analysis has started, and the comparison of countries through more formal methods of analysis after the internal analysis has been completed.

For the latter author, in small-N studies (as in this research project), the internal analysis receives considerable attention, and the external analysis less. In large-N studies, external analysis tends to be dominant, and the external analysis less. However, Janoski (1991) proposes a model of comparative research process that make the process of synthetic research strategies more apparent, paying careful attention to internal and external analysis and its interface. This model has seven stages that are summarised as follows, adding some information in relation to this research project:

1 Abduction, problem identification, and theoretical specification

Abduction indicates assumptions, interests and mental baggage that researchers bring to a study. Thus in relation to this study, I have been involved in social movements and organisations related to 'foreigners' and immigration issues since 1992, and related to labour and housing issues since 1994. Furthermore, I have been involved in research projects on such issues since 1994. They were carried out mainly from a university geography department until 1996, and since then from an ethnic studies research centre. The next step is to specify the problem and theory, and the researcher does a literature review of relevant topics. Thus this has been the aim of the previous chapters of this thesis.

2 Research design I

The study as such is first formulated. Researchers choose the countries and times to be studied and attempt to establish a structure of variables and constants so that the research will flow towards a convincing conclusion. Thus, on the one hand, Portugal

and Spain, and, on the other, Lisbon and Barcelona, were chosen as the places to be studied. The constants established were the existence of a significant 'foreign population' in both countries and urban spaces, both from the European Union and from other countries, mainly former colonies; and similar characteristics in economic terms among the 'foreigners' living in both areas. The variables taken into account were the ways of mobilisation of 'foreign immigrants' and the role that social movements and organisations, and public administrations of the arrival societies have played in integration and resistance processes. The main period of time selected for study was from the collapse of the military dictatorships (mid 1970s) until today.

3 Data collection and field notes

The researcher needs to collect consistent data either or both in the form of statistics, qualitative interviews, or other methods. The data is then collected in a systematic way. At this stage, the research was somewhat provisional since further investigation of context may reveal other variables that need to be included. At such step, in this research project, management of statistical information, explorative qualitative interviews, and consultation of organisations and public authorities documents was planned.

4 Research design II

In the internal analysis, the researcher formulates a different sort of analysis design to fit each country. The first research design (step 2) concerns how countries can be compared in external analysis. The second research design (step 4) concerns how to build a functionally equivalent model for each particular country under study. The researcher formulates a method for extracting knowledge from within the country. In this research project, methods include interviews of key informants in each urban area, the compilation of relevant documents produced by them, and participation in social organisations and movements.

5 Reformulation of theoretical model for each country

Each country is then analysed according to the second (internal) research design, and the comparative researcher comes up with a theoretical model for each country in question. Although country analysis is not done in isolation, the researcher often finds arguments and information in each country that leads in different theoretical directions. Thus the researcher must bring the analysis together and this effort is sometimes an interactive process, that is, it takes place over and over again with small adjustments.

Researchers may also find that different theories may apply to different countries, but then both theories should be tested.

6 Refitting the theoretical models in internal analysis to overall theory in external analysis

From the internal analysis of countries, the researcher re-emerges to the external analysis of countries. Different methods will be used.

7 Exit the field and write up results.

Apart from all those elements, some of the questions raised by Cathy Lloyd (1995) on international comparisons in the field of 'ethnic relations' were taken into account to avoid further complications: the analysis of data can be extremely problematic owing to the lack of equivalencies, different modes of data collection or even the absence of data on certain aspects of 'ethnic groups'. In writing questionnaires for several countries, the problem of different understandings may pose great difficulties; this can be related to problems with terminology. Finally, the identification of the key informants has to be done in a rigorous way.

4.2.2. Reflexivity

Reflexivity is an issue not easily approached. Methods used imply different possibilities and ways of reflection. According to Villasante (1995a) it is possible to distinguish four main types which, although they often appear in a mixture, can be presented in a sequential way for operative reasons. It has to be taken into account that each reflective step is a social construction, is an intent of unblocking trends and dominations that impede the creativity of the process:

- In the 'reflectivity of the groups in their contexts', the idea is to depart from the implications that each group maintain in relation to the process that put them together. Thus it can be interesting to take into account: a) important successes for the considered community; b) socio-economic and demographic conditions data of the population considered; c) the research objectives, not only in an abstract way, but in relation to the 'social blocs' and the compromises that each group or collective is forced to make.

- In the 'conversational reflexivity in the formal and informal networks' it is necessary to go a step beyond in the knowledge construction, because although everybody says that they know 'their world', in fact they really know just a quite small 'world'. In this sense, it is necessary to realise a first 'mapping' (relations map) of the groups, circles and sectors that we want to interview: a) 'thematic' analysis of the recorded tapes will facilitate 'felt needs' which can be a good starting point; b) the 'ensembles of action' that are discovered in opposition to the discourses can be useful to pinpoint the useful mapping to dynamise such a situation; c) thus, the proposal should take into account both the topics more 'felt' and the more transversal ensembles of action.
- In the 'projective reflexivity with the experts' (with technicians, association leaders, and people involved in general) it is necessary to think of the viability of the projects, and this viability does not depend just on the researcher's analysis, but also on the will of the people who are participating, and technical possibilities.
- Finally, there is the 'praxical reflexivity in situational context': when acting on social reality, dynamising it, it is possible to check part of the previous suppositions, but it is also possible to provoke new ones, and the less adjusted can be also rejected.

The kind of work method proposed by Villasante (1995a, 1995b), which has also been practised by López, Martín, Mendoza, Merino and Ruiz (1995) and which is known by the acronym IAP (*Investigación-Acción Participativa* or Participative-Action Research) is not completely new. During the 1970s, André Jacob (1977), in a book dedicated mainly to social workers, already considered that action-research was not a new method and he situated its origin in the work of Kurt Lewin in the United States, and considered Marx and Engels as the revolutionaries of perspectives and methods of scientific research. However, Jacob identified three main orientations in action-research: a) a 'technocratic conception', inscribed in a process of planification, creation or management of social services; b) a 'professionalist conception' that is looking to favour changes in the social workers' job, in a concern to make complementary research and action, in order to improve the efficiency of daily life practices; and c) a 'progressive conception', which is differentiated from the previous ones in the fact that it is directly linked to the struggle of the working class and popular movements (or other oppressed social groups) and which demands the researcher to have a clear class positioning and to be furthermore in activist activities;

in practice, research is used as a means of action and organisation, as a training and information tool, including a clearly professional focus.

In any case, it has not been just in sociology or social work that methodologies which can be considered as 'action-research' have been developed. Within geography, William Bunge and other colleagues carried out a programme of 'geographical expeditions' which can be also linked to the aforementioned ensemble of scientific methods (Bunge, 1979, 1988). Thus Bunge exposes the genesis of such an approach: during July 1967, the sky became black in a neighbourhood of Detroit due to the smoke of 'revolution' and he could live in what he defined as freedom⁶³, although a short time later the North American government sent the army and police there and, after a crude struggle, smoke and 'revolution' faded away. As a result of such an experience, Bunge wrote in 1969 a book called *Lifeism* (not published) and another one titled *Fitzgerald: Geography of a Revolution*, published in 1971. Some months after that 'revolution', in 1968, the Detroit Geographical Expedition (DGE) was created with the support of Bunge himself and Gwendolyn Warren, who published an atlas on the children of Detroit. In 1971 Bunge continued his work in Toronto under the umbrella of the Toronto Geographical Expedition founded at York University and supervised by Ronald Bordessa. In that research they studied the causes of why the human race is threatening itself with destruction, and they established five scales of analysis: the neighbourhood of Christie Pits, Toronto, Canada, North America, and the world, and three 'spaces' to examine those scales (human beings, machines, and 'nature'), constructing a three per five matrix with the aim of knowing in which of those 'spaces' children are killed (Bunge, 1979).

Recently, Andy Merrifield (1995) has rescued Bunge's expeditions and he has located them in the epistemological and methodological context of mid 1990s geography. Thus Merrifield notes that, for Bunge, on the one hand, geographers should bring geographical knowledge to impoverished people in their areas and, on the other hand, the residents in the locality where the expedition was taking place were invited to be

⁶³ This vision of 'revolution' commented by Bunge can be linked with the explanations on democracy break-outs noted by Blaug (1996), and the local 'revolutions' (in plural) indicated by Jesús Ibáñez (1989).

incorporated as students and lecturers in the university. Bunge kept the name 'expedition' to subvert the nineteenth century colonial practices: some decades later expeditions were going to accomplished its potential helping the human race. Thus, the power of the expedition should be in the hands of the people who were explored, even if that sounded risky for academics.

And the importance of this horizontal inter-active approach is even more clear in the light of experiences such as the one noted by Davide Però (1997), in which a local government instrumentalised participatory action research, taking for granted a supposed natural existence of 'communities' ready to be self-organised spontaneously (in that case, Moroccan workers in Bologna who did not have full citizenship rights), in order to avoid the implementation of solutions for a problem the local government itself had created previously. Thus, participatory action researches are a method, a tool, better in some senses than others, but which also need special conditions to be implemented successfully for the benefit of the people involved.

In this way, the perspective adopted by the researcher is a key issue, which has been also put into question by people involved in social movements. Thus, in Britain, for a group that is *in* the so-called *DIY Culture* (a label stuck from outside), a critique of this denomination should be undertaken because it insulates and it draws borders. For Aufheben there is a great difference between the theoretical reflection from within protest movements if compared with the approaches of academics and journalists:

There is a world of difference between attempts, whatever their limitations, of people involved in struggle to reflect on it, to theorise their practice, and the efforts of academics and journalists to write about such movements. Whether hostile or sympathetic, as expressions of the fundamental divisions of labour in capitalist society - that between mental and manual labour - these specialists in writing and in ideas are forcing a praxis that is escaping this division back into it. For those of us engaged in the collective project of getting out of this world and into the one we feel and know is possible, a critique of the category of DIY Culture and the recuperative project which lies behind it is becoming imperative. (Aufheben, 1998: 128)

However, when I considered the concretion of this research project a series of difficulties and limitations appeared which impeded a single researcher, taking into account the time available, to undertake all the work required for a participatory action research in two different countries. Thus the objective for this thesis was to explore, both in Barcelona and Lisbon, some aspects of the first and second reflexivities

proposed by Villasante: the 'reflectivity of the groups in their contexts', and the 'conversational reflexivity in the formal and informal networks'.

4.3. Concrete characteristics of the fieldwork and the statistical work

The research project which has facilitated this thesis has taken into account two fieldworks in Barcelona and two in Lisbon. In Barcelona, fieldwork was carried out from June to August 1996, and from June to December 1997. In Lisbon, the first one took place from December 1997 until May 1998, and the second one in May-June 1999. Previously, during and after the realisation of such fieldwork I undertook several reviews of relevant scientific literature, a significant part of which has been used in Chapters 1-3, helping to suggest hypotheses and questions. In addition, as will be observed below, statistical data has been also taken into account. Furthermore, a previous delimitation of social movements and organisations and government bodies studied, and of the concrete methods practised was necessary. In this thesis profit organisations (private or mixed companies, etc.) have not been taken into account, except in particularly relevant cases.

In relation to organisations and social movements, I have paid special attention to 'foreign immigrant' associations, NGOs created mostly by 'non-foreign immigrant' people, neighbours' associations, trade unions and employers' organisations. In general, informal social movements have, with a few exceptions, been put aside in this research to avoid an excessive dispersion.

4.3.1. Interviews plan

Previous considerations

The genesis of the collection of interviews taken into account for this research is somewhat complex, because it is based in materials compiled in three different research activities:

- A small research carried out with the support of the Fundació Jaume Bofill from June to August 1996
- A more ambitious research project with funding from the Training and Mobility for Researchers (TMR) programme (European Commission) carried out from September 1996 until September 1998
- Another research also funded by the TMR programme from September 1998 until September 1999.

Obviously, the second and third research projects took into account the results of the previous one, but in each one there are differential elements which do not allow me to consider all three as the same research project, although a line of continuity exists between all of them which make possible to use a significant part of the phonographic materials of all these researches in this thesis.

The fieldwork in all cases included interviews with 'key informants', persons who are distinguished members of diverse social organisations and government bodies related to 'foreign immigration', and who have a minimum knowledge of the organisation to which they belong. The common issues that in general guided the development of these interviews can be grouped in the following blocks:

- General characteristics: the year the organisation was created or the immigrant-oriented activities began; the circumstances in which the organisation/service was created; significant stages in the history of the relation to foreign immigrants; geographical ambit of action; location of the 'headquarters' and other places/spaces of action; methods of funding.
- Participation: numbers and characteristics of members of workers of the social organisation or the government body; proportion of foreign immigrants or naturalised immigrants working in a social organisation or government body; internal structure of the social organisation and government body; assessment of its functioning.
- Activities: types, characteristics, amount, frequency, localisation.
- Objectives: main objectives that the social organisation or government body bear in mind; objectives effectively reached.

- External structure: kind of entities with which they are related; when these relations started; kind of existing relations; objectives and assessment of such relations; aspects to improve in the future.
- Problems, contradictions and conflicts
- Needs and priorities
- Perception of the concept 'integration' in relation to 'foreign immigration'
- Integration and nationality (understood as citizenship of the arrival country).
- 'Foreign immigration' and the capitalist system: possible class orientation of the social organisation or government body; point of view on the possibility of overcoming the main problems suffered by foreign immigrants within the capitalist system; issues to which they would dedicate an unexpected amount of money to be spent by the organisation or the government body.
- Social integration and language: languages spoken in internal and external relations.
- Suggestions to improve the situation of 'foreign immigrants' in Barcelona and Lisbon.

In order to select subjects for interview, in the first stage of the research, a list was compiled of social organisations and government bodies on the basis of directories and listings already published and which could be relevant, and added to as time went by. In this thesis the research territories are restricted to the Lisbon metropolitan region and the Barcelona metropolitan region, focusing mainly on Lisbon and Barcelona cities, in order to avoid an excessive dispersion, because there are already relevant Luso-Catalan comparative studies on rural areas (for example, Mendoza, 1998) and because both are two of the main urban areas receiving 'foreign immigrants' in Portugal and Spain (and if the comparison is between Portugal and Catalonia, both Lisbon and Barcelona 'host' most of the 'foreign immigrants' in each territory). Political parties were included in a first selection and some interviews of people responsible for immigration issues were undertaken both in Barcelona and Lisbon, but, owing to the fact that 'foreigners' cannot be full members of a Portuguese or Spanish political parties (although recently some parties have manifested their intention to allow some of them to be members) in this thesis their role has been just considered in a tangential way.

Interviews conducted

The interviews recorded and analysed for this thesis can be separated into two main groups: 69 interviews were recorded in Barcelona; 51 interviews were recorded in Lisbon. In this way, a total number of 120 interviews have been conducted.

In Barcelona, the interviews recorded can be divided as follows⁶⁴:

- 27 interviews of 'foreign immigrant' associations members
- 9 interviews of members of local NGOs of solidarity with 'foreign immigrants' and 'ethnic' minorities
- 2 interviews of neighbourhood association members
- 6 interviews of trade unions members
- 4 interview of employers' organisations members
- 15 interviews of governments bodies (including two interviews in Madrid)
- 2 interviews of responsible people for Mosques
- Other interviews: interview of the editor of an international monthly magazine in English published in Barcelona; interview of the owner of an Arabic bookshop in Barcelona city centre.

Interviews recorded in Lisbon can be divided as follows:

- 18 interviews of 'foreign immigrants' associations members
- 2 interviews of people responsible for Mosques
- 14 interviews of members of local NGOs of solidarity with 'foreign immigrants' and 'ethnic' minorities
- 7 interviews of trade unions members
- 4 interviews of employers' organisations members
- 6 interviews of responsible persons of government bodies.

⁶⁴ Four interviews were done in the summer of 1996 by Natàlia Rosetti. However, the transcription was done always by me.

Thus, in Barcelona, I interviewed members of 27 'foreign immigrant' associations (25 established in Barcelona city, one in Mataró, and another one in Granollers) over a total number of 56 associations located in Barcelona city prior to the second fieldwork; thus nearly half of the total number of associations gathered in that 'census' were interviewed. Among the local NGOs offering support to minorities, I interviewed members all those organisations. In relation to trade unions, I interviewed members of all the four main 'trade union congresses' or central unitary trade unions (CCOO, UGT, USOC, CGT). Among employers' organisations, I interviewed members of the two main ones: Fomento del Trabajo Nacional and PIMEC-SEFES. In relation to other social movements, I interviewed members of the federation of neighbourhood associations and one association of the city centre. Furthermore, 15 interviews to members of government bodies were undertaken.

In Lisbon, I interviewed 18 representatives of diverse associations of 'foreign immigrants' over a total number of 39 'living' associations located in Lisbon before the fieldwork. Among local NGOs, virtually all those that implement activities related to 'foreign' immigrants in Lisbon city had at least one member interviewed. In relation to trade unions, members of CGTP and UGT in charge of immigration issues were interviewed, and, furthermore, representatives of the construction and cleaning services trade unions were also interviewed. Among employers organisations, speakers of CIP, AECOPS and the cleaning services employers' association were interviewed. Furthermore, 6 interviews were done to members of government bodies.

The number of interviews done in Barcelona is slightly higher than those done in Lisbon owing to two factors: the variety and number of associations in Barcelona is larger than in Lisbon, and in Catalonia there are more governmental bodies dealing with immigration issues because of the Autonomous Community powers (in Portugal there are no regional governments). Most of the interviews are single encounters, but in a number of key cases second and third encounters took place in order obtain a longer-term temporal process analysis (Paräkylä, 1997), a few of them were tape-recorded (as noted in the interviewees' list), but most of them were informal conversations. The complete list of interviewed people is in the appendix.

Lies and mist: methodological reflections

Lies and truths are an old couple difficult to handle, but need to be taken into account. During the interviews people were invited to collaborate in research, and were free to answer the questions or not, and they could be very talkative or reticent (during the transcription I thought they were too talkative). However, it is necessary to know if the information provided is true and, if it is, whether it is relevant. Lies are supposedly less likely to be spoken when people are talking to a tape recorder (and almost all interviews were tape recorded), but even with this medium lies appear and I was always aware of that possibility. Thus key information was contrasted with several interviewees, participant observation, publications, etc. The second question, if the information is relevant, is more common among 'professional' speakers: when asked about concrete issues, this kind of interviewee may try to evade some topics with general answers giving basic information. This situation is difficult because the person interviewed may decide to finish the interview if he or she feels threaten or embarrassed. Thus sometimes it was necessary to let them talk about what they wanted in order to relax them, and then ask them later the 'difficult' question with other words and in another conversational context (this implies longer hours working, but it is usually worthwhile). However, sometimes it is not possible to obtain any relevant information in an interview and it is then when other methods and sources of information become necessary.

In any case, even if it is relevant to recognise the possibility of undiscovered lies in interviews' data, an interesting point to bear in mind is that discovering a lie (why he/she is lying?) or listening to a misty answer may be a trace of key issues that, after further research, may appear to be basic to understanding what is being studied.

Data Management and Analysis

All the interviews were recorded on audio cassettes. The average length has been, approximately, an hour, but varies from 20 minutes to two and a half hours of valid information. I have personally transcribed in computers' format (Word) all the recorded material in order to analyse 'commonalities' (Ragin, 1994) and differences.

Afterwards, seeking verification and confirmation a 'triangulation' of data was undertaken (Huberman and Miles, 1998), this is I contrasted the information extracted with journals, bulletins, pamphlets, oral and visual information gathered during the visit to the locals of social organisations, the participation in social organisations and movements, assistance to gatherings, meetings, conferences, public events and congresses. During the fieldwork and later I provisionally classified this diverse raw data according to some of the main topics noted in the first three chapters of this thesis, changing groupings as time went by, and raising new topics and questions. However, as Huberman and Miles (1998) note, in the disorderly world of empirical research, independent measures do not converge fully and they can be even conflicting with no easy means of resolution. In such cases I have made it explicit or I have not included the analysis of such issues because lack of enough evidence.

In terms of analytical approach, I was advised to do not use computers' software that are specific to analyse interviews (like NUD.IST) because I was dealing with four languages at once (Portuguese, Spanish, Catalan and English). It was crucial to respect as much as possible the original language of transcripts and quotations, following what Umberto Eco in his classical book on how to carry out a thesis noted. Transcriptions have respected the original 'oral life' of the interview as much as possible, even if this meant losing some 'literary value', although a few minor improvements to grammar have been done when necessary to make the interview readable, especially in the few cases when fluency in the language of the interviewee was precarious (in general, when people participate in organisations and movements have already a certain fluency, at least, in one dominant local language). This thesis has not been focused on a detailed discourse analysis, the interest was more in the information on activities done collectively than on the interviewee himself or herself, although sometimes was also relevant.

During the analysis of the transcripts I marked printed copies with diverse colours in order to underline several topics previously raised and others seen as relevant during the analysis. Then I grouped key parts of the interviews according to several issues, and I looked for commonalities and differences. In creating chapters of this thesis mainly based on empirical data (chapters 6,7,8) I have used a mixed approach to description and explanation, using both a kind of 'storytelling' and 'explaining'

(justifying some actions, giving reasons, supporting a claim, etc.), following Huberman and Miles. A process of selection was necessary after collecting all interviews. Even if the workload is much superior, as Anssi Paräkylä (1997) has noted, a large database has definite advantages in qualitative researches. It allowed me to have access to a greater diversity of situations and issues. The selection process was characterised by the interest in answering the key questions of this thesis, while picking up those issues and new questions to be explored further in a post-doc. It has to be taken into account that, as noted earlier, sometimes interviews last for a longer time because difficulties in addressing specific delicate topics.

On the other hand, displays of interviews' data have been useful in the analysis and in writing. As Huberman and Miles (1998: 188-189) suggest, valid analysis is immensely aided by data displays that are focused enough to permit viewing of a full data set in one location and systematically arranged to answer the research questions: displayed data and the emerging written text of the researchers' conclusions influence each other. This is also why in writing I have been quoting key interviews transcripts. Furthermore, as Margot Ely, Ruth Vinz, Maryan Downing, and Margaret Anzul (1997: 27) have noted, writing was also a process of learning: "through writing, the focus and ideas are figured and refigured, and the writer's understanding of self in relation to the data is constantly re-forming as well. We get to know ourselves better as we wrestle with that the data come to mean for us".

4.3.2 Participation in social movements and organisations

In this matter, the experiences in Barcelona and Lisbon, although there was a connection between them, differ significantly in several issues. The brief fieldwork carried out during the summer of 1996 did not allow a significant involvement in any collective project (beyond timely collaborations), among other reasons due to the coincidence with the summer break which also affects the main part of the socio-political activity everywhere. During the (re)thinking and preparation, in a stay at Warwick University from the Autumn 1996 and until the Spring 1997 of the second fieldwork in Barcelona and the first in Lisbon I maintained as much as possible the contact with the social reality in Barcelona (through postal mail, Internet, telephone, press and short visits) and I started to contact with the Lisbon social reality (mainly

through the Internet and the press) and I studied to improve my Portuguese; at the same time, I also participated in the British anti-racist movement, which improved my knowledge of the situation in this country, overcoming the limitations of the mainstream scientific literature that I was reading also at that time.

It was during those months in Britain that I acknowledged the creation in Barcelona of what was later called the *Assemblea Papers per Tothom* (Assembly Papers for Everybody) created in the Autumn 1996 as a response to an event occurred while I was carrying out my first fieldwork (concretely, in late June 1996). This assembly was inspired by the struggle of the Paris *sans papiers* (which transcend the French borders via mass media also during that summer). Thus, in the Autumn 1996, in Barcelona, a wide range of social organisations and movements met together to protest against the expulsion of over 100 African immigrants the previous June orchestrated by the then new PP Spanish government. In December 1996, after some organisations left the assembly, a protest demonstration was organised. In April 1997 some members of the assembly occupied a church in La Verneda, a working class neighbourhood in Barcelona where there is a 'foreigners' detention centre, in order to ask for documents for those immigrants without residence permits. Since the beginning of the second fieldwork, in July 1997, I started to participate in such assembly.

The difficulties of developing a participatory action-research in such context were multiple. On the one hand, it was not a cohesive collective of people, but a kind of a platform of several diverse organisations working as an assembly, where it was possible to participate also at individual level. On the other hand, although meetings were generally in Barcelona's Ciutat Vella (an area with a significant presence of 'foreign immigrants'), the assembly was not rooted in any neighbourhood or concrete area, and their members were dispersed along the metropolitan territory and beyond (Girona, Empordà, Osona). Furthermore, I was undertaking the research individually for a limited period of time (the scholarship was due to end in September 1998, and I still had to carry out the Lisbon's fieldwork), when in general the IAPs suggested by Villasante, the action-research proposed by Jacobs, or the expeditions practised by Bunge were carried out by research teams.

The advantage of being involved in social movements and organisations which are part of the research topic is that it allows the researcher to contrast the information obtained via interviews with the information that the dynamic reality of the social action provides. Furthermore, it allows the researcher, to a certain extent, to offer feedback to organisations which have helped him/her to carry out the fieldwork.

The most critical point is perhaps the selection of the social organisation or movement in which the researcher is involved. In this case, in Barcelona, I opted for an 'informal' social movement, the *Assemblea Papers per Tothom*, which at the beginning grouped NGOs of solidarity, foreign immigrant associations, trade unions, religious associations, student groups, neighbourhood associations, associations of the unemployed, squatters' groups and individuals without associative membership. In other words, a wide range of those social organisations which I wanted to take into account in the study.

In the case of Lisbon, the situation in December 1997 was different from that in Barcelona: there was not such a platform understood as a social movement. An existing platform of several social organisations with similar characteristics was more institutionalised (it is called SCAL) and it could not be considered as a grassroots social movement. In contrast, there were several social organisations and uncoordinated movements in Lisbon. Then the selection process was harder when one of the main aims was to compare social realities in Barcelona and Lisbon. Thus I opted to participate in a social organisation in Lisbon which could be compared to one in Barcelona: SOS Racismo. There were three main reasons: a) this association exists in both cities; b) I had been involved some years ago in Barcelona's SOS Racisme (January 1992 - May 1994) and thus I had previous knowledge of it as an insider; and c) there was an informal link between *Assemblea Papers per Tothom* and SOS Racismo in Lisbon. However, as the participatory action-research had not been developed in Barcelona, it did not make sense to develop one in Lisbon when, furthermore, there were time constraints, and SOS Racismo in Lisbon was neither rooted in a concrete neighbourhood or area (its headquarters moved from one *bairro* to another one during the fieldwork), and their members were residents in diverse areas of the metropolis. However, my brief participation in Lisbon's SOS Racismo was

very useful in understanding better social movements and organisations in Lisbon. Today, summer 1999, in a sense, a fieldwork in Lisbon would be probably easier to be compared to the one in Barcelona in 1997, because in the late 1998 a wide anti-racist network was created under the name of *Rede Anti-Racista*, focusing mainly on the problems of de-documented immigrants. However, Assamblea Papers per Tothom in Barcelona, is today suffering a crisis with outcomes that are difficult to know. This is an instance of changing social realities with points in common and differences along time and across space.

Furthermore, during recent years, my involvement in diverse social movements (also in diverse forms) has been putting into question several aspects of what I was studying. As an instance, on 10 March 1998, in Lisbon, I wrote the following thoughts in one of my fieldwork notebooks:

In the heat of the fieldwork, links/bonds between it and social-political movements appear. For example:

- when I am paying attention to the housing problem among some immigrants, the activities and proposals of the squatter movement in Spain and Portugal⁶⁵ and the proposals and policies of governments and institutionalised social organisations appear to be often antagonistic.
- when I am paying attention to the precarious work conditions of some immigrants, the positions of trade unions, of governments, of employers organisations, and of those against work under capitalist conditions⁶⁶, do oppose each other in diverse ways.
- when I am paying attention to immigrants' social participation, the proposals around the concepts of autonomous civil society, self-organisation, internationalism, citizenship, etc. - proposed by the Zapatista movement in Mexico and beyond⁶⁷ - appear as possible references.
- when I am paying attention to the situation of immigrants and foreign women, it is related to me in their participation or lack of participation in the debate on abortion, which was in the public arena in Portugal during 1998 (e.g. in a concert for the right of women to decide, in a Lisbon night club, there were on the stage rap-music groups composed of black young people from the *bairros* of the periphery; however, among some communities of African origin resident in the Lisbon metropolitan area, although there is not an open position against abortion, it is not commonly practised among young women, even if there are not significant benefits for single-mothers).

These are instances of reflection that appear as a product of simultaneous involvement in fieldwork and social 'activism'. And this kind of information may also be relevant for this thesis and, thus, it may be necessary to take it into account.

⁶⁵ During the fieldwork I attended meetings and participated in activities in a squatted social centre in Lisbon, and previous to the thesis I had participated in several squatted social centres' activities in Barcelona.

⁶⁶ Before the thesis, in Barcelona, I had participated in an alliance of neighbourhoods' platforms against precariousness at the workplace.

⁶⁷ Both in Britain and Portugal I participated in Zapatista support groups. And in 1997 I had participated in some activities of the *II Encuentro por la Humanidad y contra el Neoliberalismo*, in Barcelona and Madrid.

4.3.3. Statistical data and other sources

Although in this research statistical data is not central, it has been of a significant support. For example, there are several volumes of the *Anuario de Migraciones* (Dirección General de Ordenación de las Migraciones, Madrid), of the *Anuario Estadístico de Extranjería* (Comisión Interministerial de Extranjería: Madrid), of the *Anuari Estadístic de la Ciutat de Barcelona* (Ajuntament de Barcelona), of the *Enquesta de la Regió Metropolitana de Barcelona* (Mancomunitat de Municipis de l'Àrea Metropolitana de Barcelona, Diputació de Barcelona), of the *Anuari Estadístic de Catalunya* (Generalitat de Catalunya, Barcelona), and diverse population censuses (INE, Madrid; IEC, Barcelona).

In relation to Lisbon, Instituto Nacional de Estatística (INE) provides diverse statistical data at several administrative levels, Serviço de Estrangeiros e Fronteiras (SEF) provides regular data on 'foreigners' residing and arriving in Portugal, and the Alto Comissário para Imigração e Minorias Étnicas (ACIME) publishes a regular bulletin containing in some issues statistic data updates on foreign population.

In this thesis other sources of information have also been used. Among them some materials provided by different organisations and government bodies can be noted, including diverse journals, bulletins, triptics, pamphlets, etc. of 'foreign immigrant' associations; annual reports and journals of trade unions and employers' organisations; religious publications; documents of platforms of NGOs; plans and documents of public administrations in relation to the social integration of 'foreign immigrants'; etc. During these years of research I have also participated in several seminars and conferences related with the topic studied that have been a source of knowledge.

5. Iberian urban areas: where theoretical debates take place

In this chapter a brief introduction to some key issues of the general history and migrations history of the Iberian countries is undertaken, focusing on Barcelona and Lisbon.

5.1. Contextualising the Iberian peninsula

“...un pont que ajudi a sulcar
la pell antiga del mar
que desvetlli la remor de tots els temps
i ens ensenyi l’onatge del rebel,
amb la rabia del cos,
amb la força del cant
amb el goig de l’amor.
Un pont de mar blava
per sentir-nos freqüent a freqüent
Un pont que agermani
pells i vides diferents”
Miquel Martí i Pol & Lluís Llach, 1993

Today, the Iberian Peninsula⁶⁸ is situated in south-western Europe, separated from the rest of the continent by the Pyrenees. However, in the 1960s, these mountains were considered by General De Gaulle, then president of the French Republic, as the European border with Africa, thus for him both Spain and Portugal were African countries. Without necessarily agreeing with De Gaulle, it is possible to subvert his comment, and take into account that the Iberian Peninsula has a Mediterranean coast which, as Miquel Martí i Pol’s poem⁶⁹ noted, can be seen as a ‘bridge of blue water’ connecting Iberia with Africa. In fact, historical and current links between Portugal and Spain and Africa have been very influential in the present day: some centuries of Muslim rule in substantial parts of Iberia (mainly in Andalusia, Extremadura, Valencia,

⁶⁸ Although Spain and Portugal include insular territories (the Balearic and Canary Islands in the first case, and Madeira and Azores Islands in the second) and colonial reminiscences (the Chinese city of Macao in the case of Portugal, and the Moroccan cities of Ceuta/Sebta and Melilla/Mlilya in the case of Spain), in this thesis, as the focus is on Barcelona and Lisbon, my approach is limited to the peninsular territories due to the particular situations of these islands and cities.

⁶⁹ The singer Lluís Llach in 1994 adapted that poem in a record also subtitled *Un pont de mar blava*.

Southern Catalonia, Southern Castille, Lisboa and Tagus Valley, Alentejo and Algarve) left diverse traces, as did the commercial exchange across the Mediterranean sea during the late Middle Ages and early modern times, under the Catalan-Aragonese Crown. Furthermore, more recently, the bloody colonisation process launched by Iberian countries in some African areas during which Spain occupied Northern Morocco, Western Sahara, and Equatorial Guinea, and Portugal took over Cape Verde, Guinea Bissau, Angola, São Tomé e Príncipe, and Mozambique deserves special mention. And in both Iberian countries, it is not possible to understand critical moments of Iberian history as the Spanish Civil War⁷⁰ and the Portuguese 'Carnations revolution'⁷¹ without taking into account the role of the former African colonies. Apart from that, in the early 1960s substantial parts of both Spain and Portugal (with the exceptions of urban areas as Madrid, Lisboa, Barcelona, Porto, Valencia and Bilbao) were based on a rural or semi-rural economy, which De Gaulle eurocentrically (and under a 'developmentist' point of view) considered as 'African standards'.

Furthermore, the difficulties for Iberia with being considered part of Europe in current times were also metaphorically noted by José Saramago with the transatlantic sailing of the Iberian peninsula itself, once detached from Europe in the Pyrenees, in the direction of the Americas⁷². Apart from the differences with northern Europe, this literary image illustrates another historical connection of Iberia with other geographical regions beyond Europe, especially Latin America. These links were first based on conquest, oppression and colonisation of native Americans by Iberians between the fifteenth and the early nineteenth centuries, but later in the nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries the links were also based on labour emigration from Iberia to the Americas in order to be exploited by the local ruling classes. Thus poor peasants replaced one form of oppression in their places of origin for another.

⁷⁰ General Franco was based in Africa during the preparation of the fascist *coup d'état* against the Republican government and among his troops thousands of Moroccan mercenaries had a key role. In fact the first major air military transportation was organised from Tetouan's airport, Northern Morocco, to the Iberian peninsula in 1936. In gratitude, the fascists paid North Moroccan Muslim leaders with, among other things, an entire ship to sail to Mecca via Mussolini's Rome, in 1937 (I am grateful to Ahmed Ihaddouten, a researcher on the Spanish colonisation in Morocco, for his comments and hospitality during my visit to Tetouan in late December 1998 and early January 1999).

⁷¹ Many of Movimento das Forças Armadas (MFA) commanders, who led the tanks against Cactano in 1974, took a critical position against the Portuguese dictatorship during their involvement in the colonial war in Africa against the independence movements.

⁷² See Saramago, J. (1986) *A Jangada de Pedra*, Lisboa: Caminho (10th ed., 1998).

And in the relations between these three geographical regions, the slave trade also played a key role. Forced movements of people from Africa to America and, less, to Iberia existed for decades⁷³. This issue has not been addressed in a public way in Spain and Portugal until recently⁷⁴. Thus these external relations of Iberia were not really peaceful and creative, but mostly bloody and destructive of human-beings. In fact, if today in Spain and Portugal (and even more significantly in northern Europe, North America, Japan, etc.) there are upper middle-classes is, to a certain extent, due to such colonisation because it allowed⁷⁵ ruling classes to extract wealth from countries richer in natural resources and distribute it among a wider number of their subjects-citizens (if compared with the past). However, there were some side-effects that can be considered as positive for people's cultural lives. Among them, for Iberian people it included the arrival of new cultural and political influences from those continents when the anti-imperialist movements spread all over Latin America and Africa, mainly after the Second World War.

Of course, Iberian relations with Europe have also been influential, and after the seventeenth century have determined its situation. Iberian countries during the eighteenth century lost their leading role and became increasingly dependent on other European countries (mainly the UK in the case of Portugal, and France in the case of Spain, although during some periods Germany was also very influential in Iberia). Since the early twentieth century, the United States of America has been in competition with those northern European countries. The incorporation of Portugal and Spain into the European Economic Community in 1986 (today the European

⁷³ This is not to say that the labour emigration from Iberia to America in the 19th century was not forced. On the one hand, in general, people may like to travel, but do not like to emigrate in poor conditions. On the other hand, in immigration countries like Brazil, although supposed labour contracts were broadly issued to immigrants since late 19th century, working conditions were usually brutal and subtle slavery was common (in fact, even today proper slavery is not rare and it affects over 100 millions of people in the world according to UNESCO data).

⁷⁴ In Lisbon, in November 1998, was celebrated a symposium of specialists on the slave trade to exchange views and to raise awareness on the issue (*Público*, 9 December 1998). In Barcelona, in May 1999 a protest in front of an existing monument to a businessman who was also a slave-trader (López López) was organised by 'foreign immigrants' and a left-wing coalition in an attempt to make explicit the history of a significant part of early capital accumulation: the slave trade (*Butlletí Electrònic d'EUIA*, May 1999).

⁷⁵ Today it is still clear that big transnational companies based in a former colonial metropolis have special investments in countries previously colonised by them.

Union) has to be seen in this context of competition between the core of capitalist Europe and the USA, if attention is paid to 'national capital' and national political correlation of forces. On the other hand, most people who participated in the International Brigades, organised mainly by working classes, to support resistance in Spain against Franco's fascism in 1936-38 came from European countries. And, in a more modest and informal way, Portuguese people also saw the participation of a few European comrades in the revolutionary process after 1974.

Spain and Portugal share some other common key features: both have a recent history marked by long periods of dictatorial rule, both until the 1970s belonged to the so-called emigration countries' group, both since the late 1970s have so-called liberal democracies (although Portugal is a parliamentary republic, and Spain is parliamentary monarchy). Moreover, according to Boaventura de Sousa Santos (1993) both Spain and Portugal are considered as countries of intermediate development, together with Ireland, Greece, South Korea and others.

Furthermore, the growth in numbers of foreign residents in Portugal and Spain has followed similar trends since the last dictatorships collapsed. In 1995 they represented 1.7 percent and 1.2 percent respectively of each country's population. It is important to note that these figures are far lower than, for instance, 8.8 percent in Germany, 9 percent in Austria and Belgium, and 18.9 percent in Switzerland (Castles and Miles, 1998). However, differences in foreign immigration trends between both Iberian countries can be found, taking into account the always partial official statistics (there is an indeterminate number of de-documented immigrants not registered). For instance, according to 1994 data⁷⁶, the relative significance of the number of African immigrants in relation to the total foreign residents is higher in Portugal (46.2 percent) than in Spain (17.9 percent), although on the contrary Asian immigration is relatively higher in Spain (7.7 percent) than Portugal (4.0 percent). Nevertheless, there is almost the same percentage of immigrants from the whole of America (22.6 percent in Portugal; 22.4 percent in Spain). On the other hand, European immigration has a significant

⁷⁶ DGM *Anuario de Migraciones 1995*, Madrid; INE *Estatísticas Demográficas*, Lisboa, 1995.

presence in both countries, although the relative proportion in Spain (51.7 percent) is much higher than in Portugal (26.6 percent).

However, these figures show the total number of residents, and if the focus is the economically active residents the numbers are smaller and there are differences between Spain and Portugal in the composition of the foreign immigrant workforce. For instance, if in Portugal Cape-Verdean people are the largest 'national' group and the number of Moroccans is really small, in Spain Moroccans (mainly from the North) are the largest nationality and Capeverdeans are few, mainly concentrated in areas near the northern border with Portugal (León). Again, among the Latin American countries, if Brazil is the largest nationality in Portugal, in Spain Argentinians are the largest Latin American nationality (with Peru and Dominican Republic a close second) and Brazilians are a small community. Thus from this data one can infer that, without taking into account Europeans and North Americans, the foreign immigrants in both countries are mainly from former colonies. Some of the main exceptions are the Chinese (5,567) in Spain, and the Venezuelans (871) in Portugal. There are also other differences, for instance as Baldwin Edwards (1997) notes, in the nationalisation rate: in 1992 it was almost 0.1 percent in Portugal and 1.8 percent in Spain.

However, the Iberian peninsula is not a uniform territory. Apart from the significant differences between Spain and Portugal, there are also others within each one: there is a wide regional (and in some cases national) diversity, and even within some regions the urban-rural divide is significant today. If the focus here is on the urban areas - because social organisations and movements are mainly urban based, and because 'foreign immigrants' are mainly urban based - as Teresa Barata Salgueiro *et al.* (1997) notes, just Madrid and Barcelona are in the two main European urban development concentrations (or 'bananas'): one linking the North of Italy with South England across the North of France, the South West of Germany and the Benelux; the second one linking the North of Italy with Madrid and Alacant across South Eastern France, and Catalonia. Thus Lisbon is considered to be outside these development axis. This situation is becoming worse with the so-called economic globalisation process and the strategies followed by the big multi-national companies that increasingly consider the Iberian peninsula as one, and only one, market and centralising their headquarters in

Madrid. In this sense, Barcelona is also suffering the 'headquarters drain' to Madrid, as some companies are shutting down offices in Barcelona and transferring them to the capital of Spain. Thus if this trend continues, both Lisbon and Barcelona may find a common problem in Madrid's economic and administrative leadership for attracting transnational capital.

According to Barata Salgueiro *et al.*, the Iberian peninsula as a whole is structured, in urban terms, fundamentally at four levels of urban areas/regions and between them there are multiple relations of hierarchy, complementarity, and synergy. In very general terms, these can be characterised as follows:

- a) In the first level, which is at the top of the hierarchy, there is firstly the Madrid urban region (which includes Toledo and Guadalajara) and, secondly, the Barcelona urban region (which includes Girona and Tarragona) and the Lisbon urban region (which includes Setubal). These are urban areas with over two million inhabitants in each one that in the Iberian context have the status of international metropolis.
- b) The second level of centres is composed by the regional metropolis, with some hundreds of thousands of inhabitants, and among them in Spain there are cities like Valencia, Seville, Zaragoza, Malaga and Valladolid, and in Portugal there is the metropolitan area of Porto. Those authors call them 'national metropolitan areas'.
- c) The third level includes some small and 'medium' urban centres, with a demographic potential of several dozens of thousands (or even hundreds of thousands) of inhabitants, which in Spain have composed small regional cities and which in Portugal are most *distrito* capitals (the ones near the coast).
- d) Finally, the fourth level is constituted by small urban conglomerates with a local influence, which include the less dynamic Spanish *provincias* capitals and the Portuguese *distritos* capitals of the interior.

Following territorial organisation patterns, for Barata Salgueiro *et al.*, most of the aforementioned urban centres, specially those which belong to the superior levels of the 'hierarchy', define in the Iberian peninsula a number of potential development axes, with different degrees of consolidation and with different participations in the economy of Portugal and Spain:

- The first, and most important, is the Mediterranean axis, which unites Catalonia with the Valencian Autonomous Community, and which is polarised by the respective capitals of Barcelona and València. At the beginning of the 1990s it became the most dynamic area of the Iberian peninsula. It was responsible for 32 percent of the Spanish GNP (including industry, high-tech and advanced services and tourism), and all the provinces in this axis (Girona, Barcelona, Tarragona, Castelló, València, and Alacant) had growth rates above the Spanish average. This axis symbolises the gradual movement of the Iberian economic gravity centre towards the Mediterranean.
- The second most important development axis is the Ebro river one, which links Tarragona, by the Mediterranean sea, with Bilbao, by the Atlantic ocean, through Zaragoza and the Riojas. The relative decrease of importance of Bilbao as an industrial centre has led towards a certain diminution of the dynamism of this axis.
- Finally, the third axis of dynamism is located in Portuguese territory and ranges from Viana do Castelo to the Setubal peninsula, including both Lisbon and Porto. It is an axis that although it includes two thirds of the Portuguese population and most of its economic activities (including transformative industries and advanced services of support to companies), is not fully consolidated yet. With the aim of its consolidation, efforts are being taken to improve communications between the north of Portugal and the most dynamic areas of Galiza, and between Lisbon and Madrid.
- Apart from these axes, the role of Madrid is central (and not just in physical geography terms). It has a great concentration of advanced services in Madrid city and transformative industries in Guadalajara, Toledo and Cuenca, and it hosts around 5 million inhabitants, thus becoming the most important area of the Iberian peninsula in economic and demographic terms.

In this way, the distribution of 'foreign immigrants' in Spain and Portugal is not homogeneous, there are significant differences between regions, and even within some regions.

5.2. Immigrations in Barcelona and Lisbon

“A cidade não pára, a cidade só cresce
O de cima sobe, o de baixo desce ...
Ilusora de pessoas de outros lugares
A cidade e a sua fama vai além dos mares”
Chico Science & Nação Zumbi, 1994

During most of the twentieth century, both Portugal and Spain, as with Italy and Greece, were countries considered as having more emigration than immigration flows. To explain why during the 1980s things changed, Russell King, Anthony Fielding and Richard Black (1997) take into account the internal migration trends and demand for labour. Their model highlights three preconditions specific to southern Europe from the 1950s to the 1990s: a) coexistence of high and low productivity sectors; b) rapid transfer of indigenous workers from low to high productivity sectors, via short or long distance internal migrations; c) a rapid decline in the rate of rural depopulation in the 1970s (that is, available supplies of indigenous labour were suddenly closed off). More concretely, their schema of the development of these processes is the following one (although it has to be noted that there were different timings in some countries as there were variations in some regions):

- During the 1950s, and in some regions during the 1960s as well, all production was low in technology and productivity, but during the late 1950s, 1960s and early 1970s some sectors incorporated the latest north European and American technologies to produce for the home market and export, creating a co-presence of high and low productivity sectors. Because the supplies of labour were abundant, and in Portugal, Spain and Greece trade union activity was forbidden, labour costs were held close to subsistence level. This situation led to a high rate of capital accumulation, further domestic and foreign investment, and to high GNP growth rates.
- In a second stage, during the late 1970s and the early 1980s, high GNP growth rates continued, but the sudden closing off of internal migration reduced the supply of labour in urban and industrial labour markets, leading to a transfer of workers from

low productivity to high productivity sectors, where workers could make successful claims for higher wages. However, there was a reduction in the rate of investment, and emigration abroad also decreased in numbers.

- A third stage of Russell King's *et al.* model includes the late 1980s and 1990s, when a reduced rate of investment has combined with economic restructuring and recession to produce a new phase of high unemployment for indigenous people. Meanwhile the low productivity sectors cannot afford to increase wages, since low wages are the only means of retaining a competitive edge. Since they cannot recruit indigenous workers in such conditions, employers therefore turn to immigrant workers from impoverished countries to survive. Thus it is not just due to problems in the countries of origin that there is immigration in southern Europe from the south basin of the Mediterranean sea and beyond, there is also an employers' demand for workers from there. However, as those authors note, 'their economic integration is generally not accompanied by a parallel social integration' (King, Fielding and Black, 1997: 13).

In the following pages, attention will be paid to the cases of Barcelona and Lisbon.

5.2.1. Barcelona and Catalan trends

Apart from the internal Catalan migration movements to Barcelona, during the twentieth century there have been two periods of large growth (Pascual de Sans, Cardelús and Solana, 1998):

1) from 1916 to 1930 industrial expansion and public works (for example, in infrastructures such as the underground) needed workers who arrived basically from the geographically and, sometimes, also culturally closer areas to Catalonia (País Valencià, Aragón, Murcia, and Almeria). In this period, the estimated inflow was over 500,000 people;

2) from the 1950s to early 1970s the mass immigration into Barcelona was from other Spanish regions (mostly from Andalucía, Extremadura, Galicia, and Castille) with a different language and culture than the Catalan one. Those immigrants spoke Castilian, the unique language then protected by the Spanish state (then under the rule of Franco, who persecuted the other Iberian languages). From 1950 to 1975 the

population increase due to immigration is estimated at around 1,400,000 people, an internal inflow was largely to work in industry.

However, there had been previous immigrant arrivals in Barcelona from other areas. On the one hand, due to the fact that Barcelona was for centuries 'the most commercial city in the Iberian peninsula'⁷⁷ which promoted the arrival of people from other European lands and beyond. As other European cities, when slavery was more spread than today - i.e. during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries - the implication of Catalan people and other Europeans in the slave trade resulted in the arrival of people from America and Africa in order to work in the domestic service of a part of the local elite. In studies on those times of triangular trade⁷⁸ - when a significant part of the capital accumulation necessary for the industrialisation process in Europe took place - normally the focus has been on the forced migrations from Africa to America, but the arrival of slaves or descendents of slaves to Europe is not negligible, as some studies in Great Britain and the Netherlands indicate⁷⁹.

On the other hand, foreign immigration to Catalonia increased since the early days of the industrialisation process (during the nineteenth century), when highly skilled workers, employers, and financial investors (and their families) arrived mainly in the Barcelona metropolitan region from northern European countries⁸⁰. This group is still significant but now they are a minority among the foreign population, although in the last decades high-skilled immigrants from North America and Japan have joined this group. The quantitative leap in the immigration of foreign unskilled workforce is more recent, and the numbers are smaller than for other Western European countries (Solana and Pascual de Sans, 1995).

⁷⁷ In this sense, the comments of the geographer Elisée Reclus are relevant, who in the late 19th century considered Barcelona as a 'meeting place of sailors, industrial businessmen and foreigners that arrive from all places in Europe' [translation mine]. See Colectivo de geógrafos (1980) *Eliseo Reclus. La Geografía al servicio de la vida (antología)*, Barcelona: 711/2, p. 401.

⁷⁸ For an approach to the 'triangular trade' see Jan De Vries (1990).

⁷⁹ For example, a historical approach to immigration from abroad in the Netherlands since the 16th century until the late 20th century is conducted by Lucassen and Penninx (1997).

⁸⁰ Some individuals included in such migratory waves have left a trace in the local sports associative sphere, for instance the Swiss J. Gamper was the founder of the Futbol Club Barcelona (*Barça*), or some British people initiated the now powerful hockey clubs in Terrassa.

In relation to transcontinental immigration, during the 1960s some African people arrived in Barcelona from Equatorial Guinea (then a Spanish colony); they were an elite group: all of them were young men selected to study in the university or high school, with excellent marks in their previous studies. They became the first sub-Saharan Africans to get a university degree and to be naturalised in Spain (see Sepa Bonaba, 1993). During that decade, the arrival of diverse students from Latin American countries and from the Mediterranean and Asia also took place, an important number of them related to medical professions.

On the other hand, in the 1960s and early 1970s some young male Moroccans (and, less, sub-Saharan Africans) were 'passing through' and working temporarily (in industry) on their way to France or northern European countries. Only a few of them became permanent residents and regrouped their families. In general, this last small group was composed of people that could not cross the French border when it was closed in 1974, and they worked in Barcelona's metropolitan region in industry, construction or the intensive peri-urban agriculture.

In the 1970s a significant number of South American political refugees immigrated to Barcelona, mainly professionals from Argentina, Chile and Uruguay (Domingo *et al.*, 1995). During the 1980s, the influx from Morocco increased with the immigration of young men, thus this nationality became one of the most significant in the city. In the 1990s, family reunion and the arrival of more young Moroccan single men and women have consolidated this community as the most numerous in several districts of the city. During the 1980s, inflows of Philipino women to work in the domestic services, and Chinese immigrants attracted to work in catering services took place in Barcelona. More recently, the domestic service has also attracted women from Peru, Ecuador and the Dominican Republic (in general through the contingents established annually by the Spanish government). The other significant foreigners' group that have arrived in Barcelona in recent years has been immigrants from Pakistan (some of them are owners of small food shops, others work distributing gas cylinders).

Official statistics on foreign immigrants in Spain only allow a general indication of the real composition of the immigrant population, owing to the existence of a significant

number of undocumented immigrants. However, in any case, the foreign immigrant population in Barcelona is still small compared to other European cities. As it has been noted, in the 1991 Census there is an underestimation of the immigrants from the so-called Third World in relation to other origins because the regularisation process took place later. In 1991 at least 23,402 foreign immigrants were resident in Barcelona⁸¹, thus they constituted the 1.4 percent of the total population (in 1986 the foreign immigrants were 19,411, the 1.1 percent of the population). If the focus is on nationality, Argentinians comprised the largest group with 2,170 people (representing 9.2 percent of the total number of foreigners), followed by those from France (1,994 people, 8.5 percent), Germany (1,914 people, 8.1 percent), Italy (1,777 people, 7.6 percent), Morocco (1,727 people, 7.3 percent) and the Philippines (1,253 people, 5.3 percent). Compared to other Catalan and Spanish cities in Barcelona there is a greater diversity in the geographical origins of immigrants.

According to the 1996 Population Census⁸², apart from an increase up to 30,455 foreign residents (that represent 2.02 percent of the total population) in Barcelona city, some other significant changes have been produced. If the focus is, again, on nationality patterns, the main group in 1996 were the Moroccans, with 3,191 resident people (that represent the 10.5 percent of the total number of foreigners), followed by Peruvians (2,779 people), Philipinos (1,784 people), French (1,707), Italians (1,693), Germans (1,589), and Argentinians (1,173). Thus, Argentinians, the most numerous group of foreigners in 1991 (2,170 people) became in 1996 the eighth group. However, 1,820 people had dual Spanish-Argentinian nationality in 1996, and if they are added to the 1,173 Argentinians registered that year it seems that there has been a significant process of naturalisation. And this would not be the only case: on the one hand, the French population in Barcelona decreased by 287 people between 1991 and 1996, while the latter year 1,802 people had dual nationality; on the other hand,

⁸¹ In the 1991 Census there was an underestimation of the immigrants from impoverished countries, due to the fact that the extraordinary Regularisation process of foreign workers ended a few months later. Instead, immigrants from enriched countries, because they in general do not have problems in obtaining residence permits, are more easily registered. By immigrants from enriched countries I mean those people who hold a passport of the European Union, Norway, Switzerland, Iceland, the United States of America, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Israel, Japan, and a series of small countries such as Liechtenstein, Monaco, Andorra, etc.).

⁸² See *Anuari Estadístic de la Ciutat de Barcelona 1996*, Ajuntament de Barcelona, 1997.

Germans have also slightly decreased in absolute numbers (from 1,914 in 1991 to 1,589 people in 1996), while 616 people had dual Spanish-German nationality also in 1996.

In 1986, as the Colectivo Ioé (1992)⁸³ suggested, the district with most foreign immigrants was Sarrià-Sant Gervasi (constituting over 3 percent of the total population), the district with the highest economic income *per capita* in Barcelona city. Foreigners in this area were mainly from enriched countries. On the other hand, the second district with the highest percentage of foreign population was Ciutat Vella (over 2 percent of the total population), which is the inner city, and it was one of the poorest areas of Barcelona. More than the 80 percent of the foreign immigrants in this district were from impoverished countries.

Data with regard to the 1991 situation confirms this polarisation (Sarrià-Sant Gervasi was still the district with the highest foreign population, mainly from enriched countries, but then the rate of foreign population (3.3 percent) was the second highest. Then, the highest rate of foreign immigrants was in Ciutat Vella, where 3.8 percent of the district population were from abroad: 83.1 percent of them were from impoverished countries (28 percent from Morocco, the largest nationality of Ciutat Vella).

In 1996 the previous trend was confirmed. Ciutat Vella is confirmed as the district with the largest foreign population: 6,093 people that represent 7.2 percent of the total district inhabitants (almost double that in 1991). More concretely, 1,671 of them are Moroccan people (they represent the 27.4 percent of the foreigners of Ciutat Vella, and 52.3 percent of the Moroccans in Barcelona), and 1,093 people are Philippino (they represent 18 percent of the foreigners in Ciutat Vella, and 61.2 percent of the Philipinos in Barcelona). The total number of impoverished countries' foreigners in Ciutat Vella is over 5,000 people, thus they are over 80 percent of the total foreigners.

⁸³ Colectivo Ioé (1992) *La immigració estrangera a Catalunya. Balanç i perspectives*, Barcelona: ICEM. See also: Colectivo Ioé (1994) *Marroquins a Catalunya*, Barcelona: ICEM.

The Barcelona district with the second highest rate of foreigners registered as residents in 1996 was still Sarrià Sant-Gervasi with 4,245 foreign inhabitants, that represented 3.3 percent of the population (almost the same percentage as in 1991 and 1986), although now foreigners are almost equally distributed according to the enriched/impoverished countries division. On the other hand, in absolute numbers, the second district with most foreign residents was Eixample with 5,711 foreigners that represented 2.3 percent of the total population. The other districts over (or on) the Barcelona's average rate of foreigners in 1996 (2.02 percent) were Les Corts (2.27 percent), and Gràcia (2.02 percent). On the other side, the district with the smallest number of foreigners was Nou Barris with 1,337 people that represented the 0.78 percent of the total population.

5.2.2. *Lisbon*

Since early times, Lisbon attracted people from the whole of Portugal, but also foreigners, especially Europeans, Africans and Asians. As Teresa Rodrigues (1997) notes, since the sixteenth century European immigrants from France, England, Holland, and German and Italian cities had key roles, in socio-economic and political terms, in Lisbon. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries thousands of Galician people migrated to Lisbon and other Portuguese cities, mainly to develop major works such as carrying water across the urban areas (both to drink and for other uses such as in case of fire). At the beginning of the nineteenth century, there were 20,000 Galicians living in Portugal, among them 12,000 resident in Lisbon and its surroundings⁸⁴.

On the other hand, also at the beginning of the nineteenth century there were significant foreign communities in terms of power and welfare living in Lisbon, although their number was small. They were mainly wealthy male middle-age married immigrants from Holland, German areas, Italian regions and France, and they had an important number of servants of the same nationality. None of their children acquired

⁸⁴ The presence of Galicians became so important for Lisbon's daily life that in 1801, when their expulsion was planned due to the war with Castille, the Head of Police did not allow that, because it would have produced a gap in basic provisions to Lisbon and Porto.

Portuguese nationality, even if they were born in Portugal. There were just a few contacts with Portuguese people and inter-community marriages were very rare (Rodrigues, 1997). At the end of the nineteenth century, the average age of those communities was higher, there were more married and widowed people, and the significance of national communities slightly changed: the number of Spanish and Brazilians increased, who in 1890 were almost 80 percent of the foreign residents in Lisbon. The English and German representation remained stable, while the French and Italian presence declined. In the city centre, most of the foreigners were Spanish, followed by French and Brazilians, although there were also Austrians, Italians and Argentinians; in neighbourhoods as Alfama and Mouraria, most of the foreigners were Galicians (Rodrigues, 1997).

The industrial expansion attracted first immigrants from other Portuguese regions, mainly from rural areas: between 1960 and 1981 the Metropolitan Area population had an increase of 64 percent. Furthermore, other kind of immigrants have been involved as well in this growth: mainly, the return of emigrants (*emigrantes*), the repatriation of people from former colonies (*retornados*) and 'foreign' immigrants' (Guibentif, 1996). However, a study of immigration in Lisbon has to also take into account a historical reference to slavery. Since the sixteenth century, black people were enslaved to work in Lisbon, as domestic servants in the city or doing the heaviest jobs in the rural areas:

Tudo parece levar à conclusão de que, ao contrário do que a maioria dos historiadores e cronistas têm afirmando, a amplitude alcançada pelo emprego da escravidão doméstica em Portugal a partir do século XVI não se deveu simplesmente ao desejo de ostentação ou pretensão de grandeza ... nas condições especiais da economia urbana portuguesa dos primeiros séculos das navegações, possuir um ou mais escravos negro-africanos em casa constituiu um bom negócio: é que, se no campo podiam ser como máquinas humanas ao lado dos animais de carga e de tiro, em cidades como Lisboa vinham permitir, a través da super-exploração, o aproveitamento da sua força de trabalho intramuros e o aluguer dos seus serviços ou o uso comercial das suas habilidades pelas ruas. (Tinhorão, 1988: 120)

In the mid 1960s immigrants from the then colony of Cape Verde arrived to work in civil construction and public works, and they became a reserve cheap workforce (*fresh* labour force to put it in terms quoted by Marx). But these immigrants were an exception; in general, it is after the 25th April 1974 Revolution that the inflows from abroad became dominant. In the mid 70s a change in the characteristics of the migration flows did lead to the consolidation of the aforementioned types: with the

economic crisis the return of the emigrants that were working in other European countries, with the decolonisation process the return of the Portuguese residents (mainly from Angola and Mozambique, the *retornados*). During the 1980s, furthermore, new migration inflows arrived in Portugal. The main origins were the former colonies of Africa, East Timor and India (Goa); and, with the greater economic dynamism reached with joining the former European Economic Community in 1985, an increase in the numbers of European immigrants, mainly from Britain, Spain, Germany and France, took place. Another community with a significant increase has been the Brazilian one (Perista, Pimenta, 1993).

In numbers, foreigners with documented residence in the district of Lisbon have risen from 20,737 in 1975 (then the total foreign population in Portugal was 31,983) to 92,441 in 1995 (when the total foreign population in Portugal was 168,316), thus the concentration of the majority of the foreign population resident in Portugal in Lisbon has been a characteristic of the last decades (55 percent of the foreigners live in the capital). If the focus is on the nationalities, in 1995 there were 18,391 EU residents (other Europeans were 1,625), 53,175 had nationality of African countries (Capeverdeans were 25,829, Angolans were 10,838, and those from Guinea Bissau were 7,895), Brazilians were 8,473, North Americans were 4,643 and the population with Asian countries' passports were 4,663 ⁸⁵. Among Asian immigrants, Indian and Pakistani residents are increasing in significance, some of them working as specialised professionals in the construction sector. Although mostly with Portuguese nationality, in Lisbon there is a significant number of small businesses run by Mozambiquean-born people with an Indian family origin. They are in general located in the axis of the Avenida Almirante Reis (see Malheiros, 1996). Other significant immigrations arrived in Lisbon during the last decades have come from Goa (Magalhães, 1993), Eastern Timor (Viegas, 1997) and Macau.

According to the 1991 Census, taking into account the population of the whole of Portugal, among the immigrant residents from the former EEC countries there was a slight majority of women (52.5 percent), although with significant differences between

⁸⁵ INE *Estatísticas demográficas 1995*, Lisbon.

countries (for instance, among the Germans 51 percent were women, while among the Spanish population women were 56.5 percent).

Among the African population the situation was different, 48.3 percent were women, although also there were differences between nationalities: among the Angolans 55 percent were women, while among Capeverdeans women were 45.4 percent, and among the Bissau Guineans only 36 percent. With regard to the Brazilian population, women were 47 percent. On the other hand, women represent 49 percent of the North American residents. Finally, among the Asians, 53.5 percent were women.

Researches on the concentration (or diffusion) patterns of the foreign population in Lisbon have been mainly focused on the situation of Africans, although currently research on the residential characteristics of Brazilians is in process. In the case of Africans, a wide research project was carried in 1994 and 1995 by the Centro Padre Alves Correia (CEPAC) and the Centro de Estudos da População of the Universidade Lusófona de Humanidades e Tecnologia (CEPAD/ULHT) on their situation in impoverished neighbourhoods and social housing areas in Lisbon (North of Tagus river area) and Setubal (South of Tagus river area) districts. Their concept of 'Africans' is an 'ethnic' one: it defines 'Africans' as 'all the citizens descendent from an African country until second and third generation, including those born in Portugal and with Portuguese nationality'. Fundamentally this definition includes those called 'blacks' or 'mixed race' (*mestiços*), thus the researchers seem to be thinking mainly in phenotypic terms. In this research fieldwork was carried out in 106 neighbourhoods characterised as follows:

- 1) Shanty towns or *bairros de barracas* (neighbourhoods of hovels, huts or provisional and fragile habitations where communities of 'first generation' immigrants that arrived in the last ten years are living, in general without their families, although with 'compatriots');
- 2) Low income degraded habitations or *bairros constituídos por casas abarracadas ou habitações degradadas de rendas baixas* (older neighbourhoods mainly inhabited by 'second generation' immigrants with families already constituted; these are the big neighbourhoods of Amadora and Oeiras mainly inhabited by people of Capeverdean origin);

- 3) Social housing or *habitações de renda social* (neighbourhoods where 'third generation' communities reside, with a greater degree of social insertion and a greater economic stability; some of these communities are characterised by large families, with children born in Portugal, and come from destroyed neighbourhoods where inhabitants were relocated, however in general these neighbourhoods do not have enough infrastructures to guarantee a minimum quality of social life);
- 4) Other forms of accommodation, as big degraded buildings or uncompleted houses.

Often the aforementioned types of housing coexist and show the evolution of the African immigrants until reaching a convenient installation. From 106 neighbourhoods, at least 20 had more than 1,000 Africans in the districts of Lisbon and Setubal, in what the authors of the research called African 'villages', that would be as 'ghost' spaces, geographically near the urban centres but far away in social and economic terms.

According to the aforementioned CEPAC-CEPAD study, the distribution of the nationalities in different *concelhos* differs from one to another. The Caboverdean residents are those with a major diversity in the distribution, although they are mostly concentrated in Amadora and Oeiras (in the district of Lisbon). Angolan and Mozambique people are mostly settled in the *concelho* of Moita (in the district of Setubal). Among Bissau Guineans there is a variety of distribution, but the major group is located in Loures and other councils of the Lisbon district. Finally, those from São Tomé are distributed almost equally among four councils: Loures, Lisboa, Amadora (Lisboa district) and Almada (Setubal district).

The presence of 'foreign immigrants' from rich countries in Lisbon also continued during the twentieth century. As Hermínio Martins (1998) noted, the presence of several European aristocratic families in the Lisbon area was a characteristic of Salazar's days (mostly in Cascais, Estoril and Sintra areas). However, there are also other kinds of North Western European and North Americans resident in the Lisbon area, in fact most of them are high-skilled workers and managers (Peixoto, 1995) or retired people. Teresa Barata Salgueiro *et al.* (1997) suggest that upper-middle classes from those countries live in the 'prestige axis' constituted by the western Lisbon *freguesias* and the localities that follow the Cascais train line (by the coast, including

Estoril) with a extension up to the North along the Western coast and surroundings (Alcabideche, Colares, and Sintra-Santa Maria). Furthermore, North American and North Western Europeans also live in significant numbers in the traditional Lisbon city centre, with an extension to the West (including prestigious areas such as Lapa and São Mamede) and through the area in expansion that includes high-class areas such as Alvalade, S.J. Brito, and S.J. Deus. As Salgueiro *et al.* note, this occupation pattern can be explained according to two processes: on the one hand, in some of this spaces (such as Lapa and São Mamede) embassies and consular services are located, and they constitute attraction poles for the highly skilled foreign population (which is registered). On the other hand, because they are people with higher incomes, and they are aware of the prestige of living in historical urban sites, a number of them choose to live in this kind of areas (Alfama, Mouraria).

This chapter has set the scene for the debates over post-dictatorship immigration in Spain and Portugal, and it has described social and economic conditions which confront migrants when they arrive in Barcelona and Lisbon.

6. 'Foreign immigration' and government tiers in Barcelona and Lisbon

"Estamos perdidos en los laberintos de la burocracia, más intrincados que los intestinos de la Gran Ballena. ... Nunca saldremos del Ministerio de Explotación a Conciencia. Vagaremos por sus pasillos durante años, como el Holandés Errante, y finalmente nos encontrará una mañana una de las mujeres de la limpieza muertos entre un montón de estadísticas."⁸⁶

In order to understand the movements and actions of 'foreign immigrants' it is necessary to take into account the role of governments on the ground, as they are the main designer of the category 'foreign immigrant'. According to Michael Keith (1997), subjectivities of resistance cannot be divorced from the institutions of subjectification. In the following pages, immigration government policies are approached at European, 'national-state', 'national-regional' and city level.

6.1 European integration and 'foreign immigration' policies

Common immigration policies in western Europe have been in existence for some years. According to Cristobal Mendoza (1998), some key moments were the constitution of the 'Ad Hoc Immigration Group' of the European Community in 1986 by the Ministers of Home Affairs (to coordinate immigration and asylum policies), the signature of the Single European Act in 1987 (to eliminate all barriers to the free circulation of goods, persons, services and capital before 1993 within the European Community), and the signature of the Treaty on European Union (EU) in Maastricht on 7 February 1992. This was mainly focused on the right of free movement and residence of EU nationals, and the internal cohesion of the Union (in this sense it included also the right of EU nationals in another EU country to vote in local

⁸⁶ 'Truca' in Alba, S. (1992) *¡Viva el Mal! ¡Viva el Capital!* Barcelona: Virus

elections). Furthermore, in relation to policies on immigration from third countries, Article 100c of the Treaty urged EU institutions to make concrete the third countries whose nationals must be in possession of a visa before crossing the external borders of member states; and, on the other hand, Article K.1 explicitly states that border control, as well as asylum and immigration policies for non-EU citizens, are the responsibility of each member state. However, there is a common general trend in EU and other developed countries to stop, control, and channel the flow of new immigrants (Mendoza, 1998; Castles and Miller, 1998).

A clear instance of this common trend is the Schengen Treaty, initially signed by Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, Luxembourg and the Netherlands on 19 June 1990. Both Iberian governments signed it in 1991. The Schengen agreement has five main components regarding immigration issues (Baldwin-Edwards, 1997): common rules of control at external borders of the Schengen area; adjustment of conditions for border crossing and visa policy; sanctions against air companies which carry people without proper documents; criteria for which country should handle asylum applications and exchange of information on asylum seekers⁸⁷. Schengen was originally scheduled to come into operation in 1990, but was only partially achieved in 1995. In June 1997, in the Amsterdam EU summit, a deal which would bring the Schengen accord on frontier-free travel into the EU treaty was expected, although with opt-outs for Britain and Ireland. Some EU leaders view the creation of a common area of supposed 'freedom, security and justice' as one of the main selling points in the 'Maastrich II treaty' signed in Amsterdam. But the Amsterdam treaty⁸⁸ will result in no radical departures in the field of immigration and asylum policies. The Treaty does call for a stage-by-stage establishment of 'an area of freedom, security and peace' across the EU and lays down specific measures to create a common European policy on controls over the EU's external borders, especially in the areas of managing the movement of people

⁸⁷ In Spain the numbers of asylum seekers recorded have been increasing since the mid eighties (2,300 cases) until 1994 (10,200 cases); in contrast, the Portuguese 1993 Law has been very restrictive: if in the mid 1980s there were 2,100 cases, in 1994 there were only 600. However, in both the Spanish and Portuguese cases, there are problems with the accelerated administrative procedures (Baldwin-Edwards, 1997).

⁸⁸ It was signed on 18 June 1997, and finally came into force on 1 May 1999, after passing through a ratification process that involved approval by the 15 national parliaments (*European Parliament-EP News*, May 1999).

and dealing with asylum seekers and immigration questions⁸⁹. However, these changes will come into force gradually, during a period of five years from 1 May 1999.

A difference from the previous situation is that the legislative process will take place through the EU's standard 'first pillar' route, which means greater involvement for Commission and Parliament, rather than the inter-governmental 'third pillar' approach which takes more time, as anything major needs to be ratified by all 15 parliaments. Although on the surface this will mean a speedier decision-making process, any proposals will have to secure the agreement of all 15 member states.

There are existing social and economic projects backed by the European Commission that can be seen as compensating the repressive side of Schengen policies, but they are not under a coordinating body. Apart from the European Year Against Racism (1997), a programme with potential impact is the Local Integration/Partnership Action (LIA Programme), based in Brussels and supported by the DG-V of the European Commission⁹⁰. LIA is a pilot programme which has been conceived and developed jointly by three European networks of towns, namely: ELAINE⁹¹, EUROCITIES⁹² and QUARTIERS EN CRISE (QEC)⁹³. The three networks created a partnership, in order to achieve a common goal in a large number of European towns and cities: 'The main aim of LIA over a three-year period (1996-1999), is to identify and promote local projects which demonstrate and exemplify good practice in the full integration and advancement of migrant and ethnic minority communities in the public and economic life of their towns. An important part of LIA will be carried out through grassroots projects, which by conforming to common or complementary themes and timetables,

⁸⁹ "Specific subjects to be addressed include standard procedures for the issue and processing visas, and for dealing with both legal and illegal immigrants and refugees." (*European Parliament-EP News*, May 1999, p. 3).

⁹⁰ This LIA Programme is run by a private research centre based in the Netherlands. It is in tune with the neoliberal focus on sub-contractation of public services, in this case at a transnational level.

⁹¹ The European Local Authorities Network on Ethnic Minority Policies (ELAINE) facilitates the mutual exchange of know-how and expertise among its members, i.e. the local authorities officers (civil servants) working on ethnic minority policies at the practical level. In the LIA programme one of ELAINE main aim is to promote local integration through the self-employment of migrant and ethnic minorities.

⁹² EUROCITIES is the European association of metropolitan cities. Its main aim in the LIA programme is to strengthen the participation of migrants and ethnic minorities in the local political process.

⁹³ The role of QUARTIERS IN CRISE in the LIA Programme is to improve access to public services for migrants and ethnic minorities and to adapt them to their needs.

will not only create synergy within the programme, but also, and more significantly, instigate a multiplier effect throughout Europe.’⁹⁴ Barcelona, Amadora, Loures and Sintra are ELAINE members (the latter three towns are located within the Lisbon metropolitan area); furthermore, Barcelona and Lisbon are EUROCITIES members.

On the other hand, partially related to Schengen, but with particular characteristics, a point in common between Spain and Portugal is the role of the state as ‘policeman’ or ‘militaryman’, as Gramsci (1930-35) noted, which can be linked to what Samuel Huntington has written on a supposed next phase of the history that would be characterised by a conflict between ‘cultural spheres’ that could lead to a new World War between ‘civilizations’, and not between political ideologies and states (for a critical approach, see for instance Karlsson, 1994). His ‘idea’ has been used as blueprint for a ‘propaganda war’⁹⁵ in several conflicts and it has been also adopted by some ‘governmental spheres’ in Spain and Portugal: in early 1996, the General Captain of the Eastern-Pyrenees Military Region (Aragón and Catalonia), A. Martínez Teixidó, indicated that the armies have seen their role increased as instruments of deterrence, due to the re-appearance of ‘ethnic and religious groups converted in ideologies that make tensions emerge which are very difficult to solve’⁹⁶. On the other hand, in May 1997, the Portuguese army’s officer David Martelo wrote that some of most possible threats to Portugal’s independence are the ‘Islamic fundamentalism’ and Morocco⁹⁷. In this way, a link between the repressive role of governments in relation to ‘ethnic’ issues is made explicit. A supposed ‘ethnic enemy’ is created, when Morocco is one of the best clients of Iberian arms traders. Thus the business can keep on running. According to Javier de Lucas (1996), there is the danger that Spain will become the Southern border guard of a ‘Fortress Europe’ project, as it has borders with Morocco (in the North African colonial cities of Ceuta-Sebta and Melilla-Mlilya).

⁹⁴ *LIA News*, Spring 1997, issue n°1.

⁹⁵ In fact, much of the official and para-official ‘discourses’ around the conflict in the Balkans, Rwanda, etc. during the 1990s are based on arguments supporting the idea of ‘ethnic war’. This is a matter that needs more critical research. Several authors have criticise such partial vision of these wars, including Noam Chomsky. One thing is official discourse, and usually another thing is the reality behind it.

⁹⁶ *AVUI*, 7 january 1996.

⁹⁷ *Público*, 20 May 1997.

In Portugal this 'Fortress Europe' project has raised some concern on its possible incompatibility with the maintenance of some kind of links with the former colonies, which started in the 1980s under the banner of *Lusofonia*. Such concern may be characteristic both of neocolonial projects (i.e. those interested in the strengthening of bonds among Portuguese speaking countries may see as a danger the construction of a united Europe) and post-fordist global re-positionings (i.e. the creation of continental markets may be seen as incompatible with inter-continental alliances). However, for Francisco Lucas Pires (1997), the *Comunidade de Países de Lingua Portuguesa* (CPLP) has been growing in importance alongside the process of European Union. It has re-oriented its objectives (politically, the CPLP has acquired a major eccentricity in relation to its European pole), but its existence it is not threatened. The fact that citizenship, according to the European treaties, is a matter to be ruled by each country becomes the main reason for that. In the case of Portugal, according to Pires, it is not likely that its link to the CPLP (although some media dramatisations say the contrary) is in danger, it is even possible that the EU is interested in such links, as it is interested in the re-enforcement of other linguistic communities (concretely the Commonwealth and the Francophone Conference) as a way of improving economic relations and political influence. However, the comparison between these three groups of countries show some differences between them (Domingues, 1997):

- The modern Commonwealth was created in 1949 after India decided to become a republic but was interested in maintaining links with other countries where the English language was spread, the Queen is the 'head' of this community of 53 countries that work on the basis of bilateral or multi-lateral agreements on concrete issues (education, culture, sport, parliamentary, legal, etc.) and has a biannual conference of heads of states which were previously British colonies (recently, for the first time a country that was not a British colony has joined the Commonwealth: Mozambique). The Commonwealth includes 1,320 million of inhabitants.
- On the basis of several previous international organisations, in 1970 an Agency for Technical and Cultural Cooperation (ACCT) was created in Niamey becoming the unique intergovernmental organisation of the *francofonie*. In 1986, the Francophone community widened its institutional structures in a Parisian 1st Conference of Heads of State and Government of those countries that share the use of French. Today this

conference includes 49 countries, among them some that just have French as the main foreign language, such as Bulgaria and Romania. In a recent conference in Hanoi, the first General Secretary of the Francophonie was designated, inheriting the attributions of both the President of the Permanent Council of the Francophonie and the General Secretary of the ACCT. The Francophonie includes 473 million inhabitants.

- The Community of Countries of Portuguese Language (CPLP) was created in 1996 by seven independent countries that share Portuguese as a common official language. Its constitution was influenced by the collapse of the Berlin Wall (the beginning of the *glasnost* also coincided with the re-activation of the other two post-colonial communities), becoming the first community of countries of this kind created after the Cold War. The Spanish region of Galiza has shown its interest in becoming a member, and Eastern Timor has the special status of 'participant observer' while its situation is not normalised (Domingues, 1997). Furthermore, for Francisco Lucas Pires (1997) the CPLP is a compensation for the Europeanisation of Portugal with its movement towards the East, and it may be the origin of a lusophone citizenship based on the Portuguese language.

Although Spain has an active role in the promotion of the Spanish language in most of its former colonies and there are several exchange and cooperation programmes with *Hispanoamérica*, there is no institution which might be compared with the aforementioned 'communities' of countries. However, the advantages offered to Latin Americans, Philipinos, Equatorial Guineans, etc. to obtain Spanish citizenship is also a sign that may indicate future similar developments⁹⁸.

On paper, those three 'communities' are mainly orientated towards cultural exchange and cooperation between supposedly equal countries, but they may also be seen as new forms of colonialism, in this case mainly of a cultural kind, as in many of the countries included in such groups there are other languages in use which may be threatened by

⁹⁸ In any case, it has to be taken into account what may be a difficulty to make that concrete: most of the Spanish colonies became independent in the early XIX century, while most of the British, French and Portuguese colonies became independent after the second world war. Thus most Latin American countries during the XIXth century were more influenced by Britain than by Spain, and during the XXth century the United States has substituted them as dominant power in Latin America.

the re-promotion of the European ones⁹⁹. Among other issues, the question of the relationship between immigration and neocolonialism will be explored in the following chapters, which will analyse the core of the fieldwork material. First, it is necessary to make some introductory references to the foreign immigration policies in Spain and Portugal.

6.2 ‘Foreign immigration’ policies in Barcelona: diversity at central, ‘regional-national’ and local levels

“...Barrionuevo y su plan
Zona Especial N.
Nos trae por fin
La ‘seguridad’
Sospechosos / Sospechosos”
Kortatu, 1985

In Spain the administrative bodies in charge of international immigration policy are established at a ‘central level’. Concretely, according to article 149.1.2 of the Spanish Constitution, the central government has exclusive competencies on nationality, immigration, emigration, foreigners and asylum rights. However, with the decentralisation policies that have taken place since the late 1970s (mostly during the 1980s and 1990s), some aspects of the lives of ‘foreign immigrants’ are also affected by other levels, including ‘national-regional’ and local government bodies.

6.2.1 The Spanish governmental level

In Spain, the foreigners’ legislation can be divided into three main sets of norms: the constitution, the foreigners’ law, and its implementation rules (Corredera and Díez, 1994). A brief overview of them is as follows:

- The constitution passed in 1978 recognises some ‘public liberties’ and ‘full rights’ (that are independent of the condition of nationals or foreigners): for instance, equality

⁹⁹ To be more precise, by the re-promotion of one European language in each community of countries. The Commonwealth does not promote Welsh language in Nigeria, nor ‘Francophonie’ promote Corsican language in Senegal.

before the law, the right to life and to physical and moral integrity, the right to personal freedom and juridical safety, and the freedom of speech.

- The Foreigners' law (7/1985, 1 July), passed by the Partido Socialista Obrero Español (PSOE) government in 1985, was created, on the one hand, due to the necessity of systematising the mess of different existing norms; and, on the other hand, it was due to a need to update the legislation according to international agreements that Spain had signed (related to the then near integration in the European Community). This law had two main aspects: an administrative one, and the recognition (or limitation) of rights. For Corredera and Díez, the basic reasons that led the government to propose such law were: a) defence of the principle of reciprocity with other states in favour of the principle of equality with the citizens, b) to preserve the level of employment in the country (the level of unemployment was over 20 percent of the active population according to EPA), c) to keep the security of the state and d) to stop the supposed 'problems' caused by 'illegal' (i.e. *de-documented*) immigrants through means as borders control and expulsions. That law gave also special status, at different levels, to European Community citizens, to those people that had Spanish origin, and to those individuals from most of the former Spanish colonies.
- In 1986 a set of rules for the implementation of the foreigners' law was passed and some aspects were made concrete. However, a decade later, in 1996, the implementation rules were changed, owing to gaps in the first one, and pressure from social organisations.

Those sets of rules have included three extraordinary regularisation processes concerning foreigners: in 1985-86, in 1991, and in 1996. The first one was considered a failure (Colectivo Ioé, 1992), as only 38,181 foreigners were regularised (19,452 without work permits, although 18,729 were allowed to work). In 1990, after some NGOs had published reports (for example, Amnesty International *et al.*, 1989), the public debate on de-documented immigration burst forth in all the media, reflecting the exploitation and penury to which de-documented immigrants were being subjected.

Thus, as António Izquierdo (1993) has noted, on 26 June 1990 the Izquierda Unida (United Left) parliamentary group submitted a motion to the Congress of Deputies in Madrid, which asked for a regularisation of those foreigners who had resided and

worked in Spain, for the right for families to reunite, and for a draft immigration law to be prepared; it also urged the government to present a report on the 'foreign immigrants' situation in Spain. The answer of the PSOE government to this motion was a communication to the Congress of Deputies, dealing with the situation of foreigners and with the basic guidelines of a policy. On 13 March 1991, almost all parliamentary groups (with the exception of Izquierda Unida) agreed on a draft resolution (which was passed by 219 votes in favour and 11 abstentions). This resolution, in the form of a 'Non-statutory Bill', covered eleven points that the author summarised in four general groups of ideas: a) organisation of documented immigrants depending on the labour needs of the economy and on the 'absorption' capacity of Spanish society; b) reduction of the number of those seeking asylum and refugee status; c) promotion of aid for social and economic development of the areas that send de-documented immigrants to Spain (especially the Maghreb); and d) proposals connected with clandestine immigration, among which there was another regularisation process and the reinforcement of expulsions of de-documented immigrants.

In a report, Lorenzo Cachón (1994) has summarised the relevant practical actions carried out since 1991 as a result of this 'Non-statutory Bill' in five issues, which can be summarised in the following way:

A second regularisation process

This second regularisation process was also carried out in 1991, and it was considered as more 'generous' - 108,321 foreign workers were regularised in Spain as a whole, which included 23,614 in Barcelona province, and 9,034 in the rest of Catalonia¹⁰⁰ - than the first one, although the process was carried out with a significant number of limitations and problems (Manté, 1992). There was a basic difference between the first and the second regularisation: if in 1985-86 it was addressed to 'foreigners with insufficient documents', in 1991 it was addressed to 'foreign workers' (Cachón, 1994). Although there were strong critiques, this process was more supported by NGOs and trade unions than the first one. The most recent regularisation process was in 1996, and was just a way to give another 'opportunity' to those foreign immigrants who had

¹⁰⁰ DGOM *Anuario de Migraciones 1996*, Madrid: Ministerio de Trabajo y Asuntos Sociales, p.260.

been regularised in 1985-86 or 1991, or who were included in one of the contingents but could not renew their work or residence permits and thus became irregular immigrants.

Reforms of administrative structure

In charge of immigration issues, it included the following rulings: a) the creation of an Inter-Ministry Commission of Immigration (in May 1992) as the body responsible for the coordination of the action endorsed by the Ministries in charge of immigration issues (these were the sub-secretaries of the Foreign Office and the Ministries of Justice, of Labour and Social Security and of Social Affairs). This Commission had four Representative Commissions that were responsible for visa policies and international cooperation, the immigration system, employment and immigration, and, finally, the encouragement of immigrants and refugees' integration. b) The creation of Offices of Immigration (October 1991) as sole entities responsible for the authorisation and realisation of procedures relevant to requirements made by the Spanish administration from foreigners. In February 1997, only offices in Alacant, Almería, Girona and Santa Cruz de Tenerife were open¹⁰¹. However, in the two following years, in an instance of continuity with previous policies, the new Conservative Partido Popular (PP) government has opened new Offices of Immigration in Madrid, Barcelona, Las Palmas and the Balearic Islands. c) Structural reform of the Ministry of Labour and Social Security in order to modify the previous General Office of the Spanish Institute of Emigration (*Instituto Español de Emigración*) into the General Office of Migrations (Dirección General de Migraciones), with a specific Office of Immigration within its structure¹⁰². This body will forward an active immigration policy. After July 1993 it became part of the Ministry of Social Affairs, and after the 1996 general elections the PP included it within the new Ministry of Work and Social Affairs. d) Structural reform of the Ministry of Justice and of the Home Office with the creation of a General Immigration Office, which has since taken charge of other issues.

¹⁰¹ *El Periódico*, 20 February 1997.

¹⁰² Under the PP government the DGM became DGOM, *Dirección General de Ordenación de las Migraciones*, emphasizing the effort on the 'order' aspect.

It is necessary to take into account that in old government bodies (as some of the migrations-related ones) several layers of civil servants can be discovered, some of them with kinship relations. In this respect, an interview with Carolina Mayeur¹⁰³, a French-born Spanish civil servant who was incorporated into a new migrations administrative body in 1993, was useful in understanding such complexity in the contrast between old and new civil servants, those who were used to work in the Spanish Institute for Emigration during Franco's years and those appointed later specifically to deal with the new immigration from abroad:

“En el 93 cuando se hace este cambio de estructura y pasamos al ámbito de Asuntos Sociales y se crea una Subdirección específica para la integración. Entonces el antiguo Director General dijo: ‘Yo necesito gente ahí, porque esta casa es una casa de viejos funcionarios, es una casa de la administración de toda la vida, es un producto del antiguo Instituto Español de Emigración,... y además ahí hay sagas de funcionarios’. Hay gente que lleva toda la vida, que sus padres trabajaban aquí, que es una cosa muy curiosa cuando entras, un funcionario bastante anquilosado, muy centrado en los emigrantes, nuestros emigrantes, que ha sido durante muchos años la razón de ser de esta casa y que cuando se convierte de Instituto en Dirección General de Migraciones y empieza a coger cada vez mas importancia el tema de la inmigración y no tanto incluso los programas para emigrantes que se siguen manteniendo aquí, pues este funcionariado no lo ve con demasiado agrado, es un funcionariado bastante conservador, mayor de edad, eso es lo dominante, lo puedes ver por los pasillos. Entonces cuando yo entro, el director general, con buena visión, dice, para montar esta unidad necesito renovar un poco el personal, buscar alguien, y entonces es cuando entramos un equipito pequeño en la subdirección pero que se superpone a lo que era el funcionariado antiguo.” (Carolina Mayeur)

There is no attention paid in locating civil servants from impoverished countries in order to serve in immigration government bodies, as the interviewed people noted (only Spanish citizens may work in the public administration, but there is an increasing number of naturalised immigrants who may be appointed there). Furthermore, the number of foreigners contracted by the provincial delegations of the labour administration (and also in the regional and local ones) was scarce and limited to temporary jobs as translators during the quotas application season in 1995 (although that experience was assessed as successful by the interviewees because ‘it gives another face’ to the government, in 1997 no foreigners were contracted due to the cut in funding)¹⁰⁴.

¹⁰³ Technical advisor of the of the *Subdirección de Promoción Social de la Inmigración y Programas de Refugiados*, within the *IMERSO* (previously *Subdirección de Promoción y Integración Social de Inmigrantes*, within the *DGM*).

¹⁰⁴ In 1997 the Barcelona Civil Government (today known as Sub-delegation of the central government in Barcelona province), which deals with residence permits, contracted a Moroccan and a Chinese person as translators.

Modification of visa and asylum policies

The most relevant change has been the passing of a new Act of Asylum (the 5/1994 Act, of March 26, on the right to asylum and the condition of refugees). The reform passed by Parliament deals with four issues: a) the suppression of the distinction between the concepts of asylum and condition of refugees (protection of foreigners will be dealt with according to what is stipulated for the condition of refugees following the definition of the 1951 Geneva Convention); b) the setting out of a preliminary and rapid procedure which may allow the dismissal of (supposed) clearly abusive or unfounded applications; c) the exceptional character of authorisations made to remain in Spain for those applicants for asylum whose petition has been dismissed on the grounds that they do not fulfil the requirements made to immigrants in general; d) the adjustment of the Act to the principles stated by the Constitutional Court, according to which the Ministry of Justice and the Home Office cannot abolish foreigners' associations. On the other hand, on the visa question, citizens of Morocco, Tunisia and Algeria have needed a visa to enter Spain since May 1991; Peruvian citizens since July 1991, and citizens from the Dominican Republic need a visa according to the Schengen Agreement (Cachón, 1994). However, since 1995 the list of nationalities which need a visa to enter inside the Schengen area has increased dramatically to over 130 names (Pires, 1997).

Programmes for immigrants' social integration

Proclamations of the necessary integration of documented foreign residents have been another aspect of the Spanish foreigners' policy. However, although the participation in 'immigrant associations' has been considered recently as important for their social integration, the 1985 Foreigners' Law (Organic Law 7/1985, of 1 July), in article 8.2 allowed the Council of Ministers to suspend the activities of the associations promoted and integrated by a majority of foreigners¹⁰⁵. Two years later, in the sentence 115/1987

¹⁰⁵ The text of such article was the following one: "El Consejo de Ministros, a propuesta del Ministro del Interior, previo informe del de Asuntos Exteriores, podrá acordar la suspensión de las actividades de las asociaciones promovidas e integradas mayoritariamente por extranjeros, por un plazo no superior a seis meses, cuando atente gravemente contra la seguridad o los intereses nacionales, el orden público, la salud o la moral pública o los derechos y libertades de los españoles". It was also considered unconstitutional that those foreigners who wanted to have meetings and in private or public transit places, or who wanted to participate in demonstrations, should compulsory ask for a permit to the 'competent body'. Cynically, the Spanish Foreigners Law was officially titled 'about rights and liberties of foreigners in Spain' ("Derechos y Libertades de los Extranjeros en España").

of 7 July, the Constitutional Court stated that this article was unconstitutional and revoked it (Casey, 1996; Corredera and Díez, 1994). Since 1990 the programmes for the social integration of immigrants were endorsed by the Ministry of Labour and Social Security. However, in a post-fordist state way that follows 'neoliberal' ideas, the March 25/1993 Ministry Order allows the setting up of programmes for the benefit of immigrants which may be financed and carried out by individuals, associations or public and private entities whose purpose is to forward actions addressed to the spreading of the Spanish language and culture among immigrants, as well as offering professional orientation and training, to promote the creation of associations and any other actions of social nature.

However, from a few social organisations, critiques have been raised both on fordist and (neoliberal) post-fordist approaches to social policies, because both are capitalist-oriented and do not take enough care in improving people's lives:

"Esto es lo que se pensó en los primeros momentos del estado del bienestar, se pensó que se podría llegar a todo ... Yo entiendo que no se pueda llegar a todo, pero tendría que haber más colaboración, a veces estas entidades hacemos, con poquísimos medios, lo que la administración no podría llegar, porque tendría que empezar con contratos, etc. ... Tendría que dar más apoyo, pero tal como estamos funcionando, pues ni da apoyo ni ella misma toma responsabilidad. Yo creo que son formas de quitárselo de encima, yo creo que no está bien encaminado el sistema, hay otros puntos de interés mucho más administrativo ... cualquier administración está metida en el capitalismo, que es más de lo mismo ... a la persona se la valora menos" (Teresa Losada)

In 1993, the Director of the Office of Migrations (DGM) announced the elaboration of a General Immigration Plan. This Plan was called *Plan para la Integración Social de los Inmigrantes*, it was passed in December 1994 by the Council of Ministers and was focused on three main issues: an Immigration Forum where the opinions of the public administrations and the NGOs were to be recorded; a permanent Observatory developed through a strategic network for the purpose of obtaining constant information on the evolution of the different groups of immigrants; and a White Paper (*Libro Blanco*) where the actions endorsed by the public administrations were to be recorded. The creation, in 1995, of the aforementioned consultative Immigration Forum included the participation of different social organisations, although the presence of 'foreign immigrant' associations and its influence in the implementation of

policies have been very limited¹⁰⁶. However, this immigrants' integration policy has been limited to those immigrants from impoverished countries, although it is recognised that 'ghettos' are even more common among immigrants from European and other enriched countries:

"La política que definimos tiene más sentido para los extra-comunitarios, porque los comunitarios no tienen prácticamente problemas de integración, y ahí es donde también se da un poco la hipocresía de la reacción de la gente con los extranjeros porque si te vas a ver las poblaciones de ingleses que viven en Málaga, desde luego integración ninguna, viven en su mundo, tienen sus tiendas, tienen sus tal, no hablan español, y algunos son residentes desde hace... y ahora pueden elegir sus alcaldes, con lo cual tenemos alcaldes ingleses dentro de poco en esta zona, pero esto no molesta a nadie, ¿por qué? Porque esta gente tiene dinero, aporta riqueza al municipio, y bueno viven entre ellos, eso es un típico ejemplo de *ghetto*, ahora bien, ¿qué vas a hacer para cambiar esto? Pues no puedes, creo que esto hay que darlo por hecho, es muy distinto el inmigrante económico, que viene a buscarse la vida, que sale de su país por razones de buscar un mejor nivel de bienestar. Yo creo que las circunstancias de la gente son distintas y la acogida de la gente es muy distinta." (Carolina Mayeur)

The fixing of quotas for immigrants

With the official aim of controlling and channelling the inflow of foreign workers, in 1993 the central government set up annual contingents (*cupos*) limited to some categories, mainly based on nationality, economic activity branches, provinces of arrival, and sex. In general, the profile of the new 'guest-workers' have been Moroccan men working in agriculture or Dominican Republic/Peruvian women working in domestic service. Nevertheless, most of the people inserted in the contingents were not new arrivals in Spain: with the support of social organisations some of the numerous irregular workers that are already living in Spain can join the contingents as a way to work in the formal economy.

However, as Mateo Albillos¹⁰⁷ notes, these limitations only apply for the first time a foreign worker applies for a permit, as in the renewal process they can be offered any kind of job and it is considered valid, being processed through the general regime. Thus this channelling of foreign workers to certain economic sectors is done mainly when they are newcomers in the formal Spanish labour market, when they may be considered as *fresh* labour (as Marx noted). For instance, in February 1997 some 15,000 posts were offered to the whole Spanish territory (including 4,000 in Madrid

¹⁰⁶ Similar consultive councils had been previously set up, for instance, by the Catalan Government, and, in a particular way, by the Barcelona city government (see below).

¹⁰⁷ General Secretary of the Labour and Social Affairs Provincial Delegation in Barcelona.

and 3,300 in Catalonia). Among them, 5,820 permits were appointed to agriculture, 5,620 to domestic service, 2,940 to other services and 620 to construction. The previous call had been at the end of 1995¹⁰⁸.

Furthermore, 'cupos' may be used also to channel high-skilled jobs for transnational companies:

"El cupo, el contingente va para todas las ocupaciones ordinarias, que es donde en teoria no hay paro, régimen de empleada de hogar y agrária. Y las situaciones excepcionales - por ejemplo una administrativa para hacer de secretaria de un ejecutivo de la Nissan en la zona franca, o un ingeniero para venir a la Hewlett-Packard en la fábrica que tienen en Sant Cugat, o una persona que va a venir como asesor personal de Mushimoto Bank de Japón-, bueno, pues todas estas ocupaciones que en principio se denegarian, porque hay desempleados en España, se atienden por régimen general através de este sistema, como primeras veces. El régimen general que ves aquí en la estadística está practicamente todo el dedicado a renovaciones, y las renovaciones de acuerdo con la doctrina de la jurisprudencia de los tribunales, tanto del Tribunal Constitucional como de los tribunales superiores de las comunidades autónomas, siguen diciendo que aquellos que han conseguido un permiso de trabajo en un momento dado no se les puede privar de ese permiso de trabajo por el hecho de que en ese momento, en el momento de que van a pedir renovar, haya parados o no haya parados, ya una vez que comienzan su trayectoria profesional en un país diferente al suyo, viene a decir el Tribunal Constitucional, cualquier pega o cualquier dificultad que se les pongan significaria truncar su trayectoria y por tanto no es constitucional ni corresponde al artículo 13 de la Constitución de que tienen los mismos derechos y deberes que los nacionales y una vez que cumplan lo que dicen las leyes, y las leyes ponen el filtro en la primera vez, cuando el extranjero entra por primera vez al país es cuando se le exige y se le compara con la situación nacional de empleo y se le dice como hay muchos parados en este sector usted no puede entrar ..." (Mateo Albillos)

Thus, in summary, the Spanish immigration policy during the PSOE years had at times apparently contradictory trends: a major concern with the control of inflows from the impoverished countries (owing to the involvement in the Schengen agreement), and a discourse for the integration of the documented foreigners, although without enough resources to achieve the ideas proposed. However, are such trends really contradictory?

According to some members of 'foreign immigrants' associations the origin of most of their problems is the existence of a 'foreigners' law that try to separate them from the rest of society. The other apparently 'friendly' policies are considered by some as 'propaganda':

"[la situación es] cada vez peor, por el tema de la legislación, la reforma que se hace pues es una reforma muy dura, el reglamento de la ley de Extranjería, y cada vez la cosa es muy difícil, siguen habiendo muchos inmigrantes aquí sin documentos ... No se hace nada casi, lo que se hace es pura mentira, para vender, vender una buena imagen hacia fuera de la inmigración. Todo son

¹⁰⁸ *El Periódico*, 18 February 1997.

propaganda, porque todo lo que tienen que hacer es derogar la Ley de Extranjería y laborar. Yo no digo derogarlo y se ha acabado, lo ideal es derogarlo y que no exista, pero como es difícil conseguir eso, como mínimo derogarlo y elaborar otro con la participación de gente inmigrante. Tiene que ser una verdadera ley de libertades, no de extranjeros como la llaman ellos” (Mohamed El-Bouhali)

Since the Spring of 1996, there has been a new conservative government in Spain, chaired by the Partido Popular (PP) with the support of some other liberal-conservative nationalist parties and coalitions: *Convergència i Unió* (CiU) from Catalonia, *Partido Nacionalista Vasco* (PNV) from the Basque country, and *Coalición Canaria* (CC) from the Canary Islands. One of their first actions on immigration issues was the expulsion in June 1996, by army planes, of 103 African immigrants resident in Melilla, in an irregular operation which included the use of narcotics. Later in a press conference, Mr J.M. Aznar, the Spanish president, said: ‘We had a problem and it have been resolved’. The expulsions of foreigners had been the usual practice during the former socialist government, although less brusque and more discrete¹⁰⁹. After that action, and because of internal and international pressure, some discussions started with social agents (as a result 300 African immigrants were placed in employment programmes in the Peninsula), although until this moment the main aim of the new government has been border control rather than the improvement of ‘integration’ policies. For instance, in February 1997 the Minister of Interior announced that recently there had been more than 5,000 million pesetas invested in the improvement of the fences in the borders of Ceuta and Melilla, and that for the first time the Moroccan government had started the effective practice of a common agreement on re-admission of de-documented immigrants, accepting 35 persons¹¹⁰. In May 1999, a new 25,000 million pesetas plan to prevent the arrival to the Andalusian coasts of small boats (*pateras*) with African immigrants was filtered to the press¹¹¹, which had an immediate response against it by NGOs, the Catholic Church and left-wing political parties¹¹².

Another kind of entry point where the Spanish government is investing money to prevent immigrants crossing the border are international airports. For instance, according to police sources, the security measures in Barajas airport (Madrid) had had

¹⁰⁹ *L’Evenement*, 22-23 February 1997.

¹¹⁰ *El Periódico*, 20 February 1997.

¹¹¹ *El País*, 24 May 1999.

¹¹² *El País*, 25 May 1999.

‘spectacular’ results: between September 1996 and April 1997 the Spanish police had arrested 1,227 passengers¹¹³.

On the integration side of things, the PP government has also changed some policies and the organisation of administrative bodies (although it has continued in focusing just on immigrants from ‘poorer’ countries, avoiding doing something about European Union immigrants and other OECD countries). It happened in late 1996 and early 1997, in the framework of the announced general reduction of administration levels and, more concretely, the fusion of the central government Social Affairs Office with the Labour Office. However, as Carolina Mayeur notes, those changes were insecure and without a clear path during the early days:

“El gobierno cambia, primero dentro de esta política de reducir direcciones generales, de reducir niveles, etc, de que había que hacer la administración más pequeña, entonces fusionan la Dirección General de Migraciones con la Dirección General de Trabajo, con la idea de que en el fondo básicamente entendían que lo único importante era la regulación de los permisos de trabajo. Esto funciona poco tiempo, porque la propia Directora General se da cuenta que esto es mucho más importante y le supone mucho más trabajo y es mucho más complicado de lo que pensaba, y después de un tiempo de intentar funcionar juntos yo creo que fue ella misma la que presiona para decir: ‘esto no se puede mantener, esto es absurdo, yo no me puedo dedicar a esto el tiempo que debería dedicarse’. Porque además ella estaba pues además con todo el tema de la reforma laboral, los convenios y tal, estaba dedicada a otras cosas, entonces hacen un nuevo planteamiento, si, creo que a finales de enero o principios de febrero [de 1997] sale en el Boletín, en el que vuelven a dividir las dos direcciones y de la Dirección General de Migraciones anterior quitan una parte, que era nuestra subdirección, y la pasan al INSERSO. La dirección general, aquí lo que se queda, cambia de nombre, se llama de Ordenación de las Migraciones y básicamente se queda con regulación de permisos de trabajo, contingentes y estas cosas, y el INSERSO se transforma en IMSERSO, Instituto de Migraciones y Servicios Sociales, creándose una nueva subdirección en la que se juntan los temas de integración social de inmigrantes y los programas para refugiados.” (Carolina Mayeur)

According to Mayeur, these shifts were opposed to the work on social integration that the previous government (PSOE) had implemented, because now it is perceived as social assistance where previously it was interpreted more widely¹¹⁴:

“Tu no puedes ver al inmigrante sólo como un trabajador o como un inmigrante que sólo viene a utilizar permisos, es un todo en el que tienes que actuar en todos los ámbitos, y desde todos los ámbitos puedes trabajar hacia la integración. No es solamente un tema de asistencia social, y cuando intentábamos montar con ayuntamientos o las comunidades autónomas programas de integración siempre destacábamos que tiene que ser una política global de la corporación, que se creara una comisión, que no fuera solamente un tema del concejal de bienestar social, que hubiera, pues los temas por ejemplo de policía son muy importantes, también, porque la forma de tratarles, la forma de perseguirles o no perseguirles también entra dentro de lo que es la

¹¹³ *El País*, 16 april 1997.

¹¹⁴ However, Mayeur recognised a positive change undertaken by the PP government: the unification of immigrants and refugees problematics under the same administrative body.

integración. El concejal de cultura es también muy importante, porque puede, pues, montar actividades con la población autóctona y con los que genere una cierta difusión de lo que es la multiculturalidad, etc., etc. Eso era un poco la visión, entonces yo lo que entiendo es que al cambiar esta unidad de la DGM y al pasar nuestra subdirección al IMSERSO el planteamiento es un poco distinto. Bueno, por una parte está todo lo que es regulación, permisos de trabajo, y tal, los aspectos más normativos, jurídicos y tal. Y por otra parte está la política social.” (Carolina Mayeur)

Furthermore, Mateo Albillos, a top civil servant in the Ministry of Labour’s delegation in Barcelona, stresses that the changes between PSOE and PP governments have been mainly in the *form* of immigration policies (reducing the number of foreign workers included in the quotas), but not in content (because the quota system is kept as the main way of ‘channelling’ labour immigration). In this way, the relevance of the aforementioned suggestions of John Holloway and Simon Clarke (1991) on the importance of the form in analysing the role of the State (see Chapter 2) are confirmed:

“No ha habido cambios excesivos en cuanto a las directrices esenciales respecto a la inmigración, pero sí que ha habido en la aplicación práctica de esas directrices. Las directrices generales se mantienen las mismas, se mantiene la política de contingentes, que es donde se ofrecen todos los puestos nuevos a través de un contingente, que es lo que hacía el gobierno anterior, se conceden los permisos de trabajo, y se renuevan los permisos de trabajo con las mismas condiciones y requisitos que el gobierno anterior. Es más, el gobierno anterior no llegó a aplicar el nuevo reglamento, que entró en vigor ya una vez tomada posesión el nuevo gobierno, y se ha aplicado en su integridad el nuevo reglamento, con lo cual no ha habido *ningún cambio de orientación en temas de fondo, sí en cuanto a la forma*. En cuanto a años anteriores, el contingente a pesar que se anunciaban 20000 plazas se daba todo aquello que estaba correctamente tramitado, este año ha sido la primera vez en que se han recogido ya unos 50000 expedientes y no hay más que 15000 plazas, y entonces será difícil que se pueda conceder todo lo que esté bien dentro de todo lo que se había recogido. Otros años apesar que hubo un límite de plazas en la práctica no lo hubo, porque el contingente del año siguiente asumía los anteriores, entonces todos los excedentes del cupo anterior. Este año posiblemente quede gente fuera porque si no se amplía el contingente con 15000 plazas no hay suficiente para las 50000 solicitudes, esto es un tema formal pero que lleva algo de fondo que es la necesidad de cortar digamos en cuanto a cantidad.” (Mateo Albillos)

These changes have implied that the selection process of quotas was made according to the order of submission of application forms. This bureaucratic procedure had a consequence that in some Spanish provinces there are long queues of foreign workers in front of government offices for some days (and even occasionally crushes with people injured).

However, if the influence of control and labour-residence permits’ policies have an impact on Spain as a whole, in the case of the immigrants’ integration policies it has to be taken into account that central government actions are reduced to discourse-making, the Immigrants’ Forum and to minor financial support to projects run by

NGOs, trade unions and regional and local governments. As Elena Barinaga¹¹⁵ notes, since 1996 the Forum has been stagnant and the only ongoing process is the elaboration of the White Paper on Foreign Immigration in Spain, debated in the 22 October 1997 session. Its president, Álvaro Gil-Robles had been appointed by the previous government and in that conflictive session (which I attended), in the 'backstage' there were comments on his possible resignation if the White Paper was not passed. Finally, it was passed and the resignation did not take place, it would have been a scandal not convenient for the PP government's apparent travel to the centre.

Furthermore, in Catalonia, most of the social integration responsibilities were transferred to other administration bodies such as the *Generalitat de Catalunya*, and the local governments. Carolina Mayeur's opinion on the relationship between the central government body where she was working and the other administration levels was that there is an equal treatment to all autonomous communities, but because Catalonia has a longer history of immigration it has older public responses. However, Carolina Mayeur felt frustrated working with the Generalitat due to the lack of specific policies behind its theoretical plans on immigration:

"No hay diferencias entre una comunidad autónoma y otras, otra cosa es que haya comunidades autónomas que tienen una política propia más definida y que hacen más, por ejemplo Catalunya. Es óbvio que Catalunya, primero porque es una tierra donde la inmigración no es un fenómeno nuevo, es un fenómeno con el que digamos que se ha ido creando esta nación, como dice el Sr. Pujol. Entonces, y porque la población extranjera en Catalunya es muy importante, entonces ... tiene a nivel de la Generalitat un plan. Bueno un poco mi experiencia de trabajo con la Generalitat es un poco frustrante, porque eso sí, a nivel de palabras y a nivel de planes y además con concepciones que comparto ya te digo que casi al 100 percent, salvo el empeño en hacerles aprender catalán antes que castellano que la verdad, esta pobre gente, primero habría que enseñarles castellano, porque bueno pueden estar en Catalunya unos años y luego pasar a Madrid o a Valencia, o no se. ... Luego a la hora de la verdad no están poniendo mucho dinero ... Ahora bien, a nivel de ayuntamiento, a nivel de diputaciones, con la Diputación de Barcelona trabajamos muchísimo, la diputación tiene dinero además, y trabajamos bien en este campo, trabaja directamente con los municipios, todos los ayuntamientos de los alrededores de Barcelona que es donde están los inmigrantes, y tiene programas importantes, entonces en Catalunya sí que hay desde hace años políticas de integración, que también tenemos que decir que se han visto apoyadas, reforzadas desde que el Ministerio digamos que pone este marco."

Thus, according to Mayeur, although there was an almost complete coincidence with the Generalitat de Catalunya in foreign immigrants' integration topics, on the one hand, the small amount of money dedicated to immigrants' integration by the Catalan government has been denounced, and, on the other hand, the language issue appears as

¹¹⁵ Secretary of the *Foro para la Integración Social de los Inmigrantes*.

a source of differences: Castillian *versus* Catalan language in language courses for immigrants. The position of the Generalitat de Catalunya becomes clearer if its legislation is analysed in contrast with the points of view of a top official in charge of immigration matters.

6.2.2 *The Catalan government level*

The Catalan autonomous government and administration - *Generalitat de Catalunya* - was re-installed after almost 40 years of Franquist dictatorship (the Autonomy Statute was passed in 1979, and the first Catalan elections were held in 1980), and its competencies have been steadily increasing since then. Among them the following ones can be underlined: culture - including the languages and cultures of 'foreign immigrants' (according to article 9.4 of the Catalan Autonomy Statute); associations and foundations that perform functions of social assistance, youth and women promotion, and institutions for the protection of children (articles 9.24 to 9.28); social services addressed to all the population (articles 5.1. and 6 of the Law 26/1985, of 27 December); children's protection and adoptions (Law 37/1991, of 30 December and Law) and tutelary actions (Law 39/1991, of 30 December); education regulation and administration (article 15 of the Autonomy Statute, while furthermore, the Spanish Constitution grants the universal right to education); finally, the health and social security services have been gradually transferred.

On 24 September 1992 the Immigration Interdepartmental Commission was created by the Generalitat de Catalunya, which was composed by the departments of Presidency, Government, Territorial Policy and Public Works, Labour, Health and Social Security, Culture, Education, Social Welfare, and Agriculture, Farming and Fishery. One of the main results of this Commission was the elaboration of an Immigration Interdepartmental Plan with the support of some NGOs, which was passed by the Catalan government on 28 September 1993¹¹⁶. Its main four *objectives* were the

¹¹⁶ There are two published versions of the plan. On the one hand, there is the original one, which is 274 pages long. On the other hand, there is a reduced version (32 pages) that was published and distributed. Here I use both versions. Objectives, principles and criteria are reproduced from the reduced version, but the reference to the concept of integration is based on the original long version.

following: a) the promotion of a 'global integration policy of foreign immigrants settled in Catalonia'; b) 'to set up and carry out programmes of coherent and coordinated resources and services supporting the full personal and social development of foreign immigrants'; c) 'to foster foreign immigrants' participation in the national construction of Catalonia, taking into account their contribution to the collective identity and patrimony'; d) 'to promote information and sensibility to foreign immigration's reality in Catalonia among the population at large, and among the professionals who deal with this population'. Furthermore, the main six *principles* of such plan were: the promotion of persons' rights, integration, participation, normalisation, globality, and subsidiarity. Finally, the three main criteria of the Interdepartmental Immigration Plan were: research and prospective analysis, interdepartmental coordination, and cooperation and coordination with other organisations (private and public).

Regarding the conception of 'integration', according to that plan, it is based on the idea of *interculturality*, understood as an active concept related to the interaction between all members of society:

Mentre l'assimilisme i el multiculturalisme tenen connotacions d'immobilisme, el concepte d'*interculturalitat* és un concepte actiu. El seu dinamisme està relacionat amb el procés d'interacció i d'interconnexió de tots els membres que conformen una societat.

La *integració* constitueix un punt d'equilibri entre una societat endògena i una actitud exògena de la societat receptora vers l'immigrant. ...

La integració tal com la concebem es manté al marge de les esmentades posicions extremes, tractant de preservar i enfortir la identitat pròpia, tot acceptant la interacció amb altres expressions culturals i, per tant, el respecte dels trets sòcio-culturals de l'immigrant. Trets sòcio-culturals com poden ser els sòlids lligams familiars que en caracteritzen sovint les relacions socials i que en faciliten la integració en la societat d'acollida.

Així mateix, la integració és contrària a les actituds de classisme que comporten en determinades ocasions un rebuig o marginació dels sectors més desfavorits de la immigració. Sectors que actualment, a Catalunya, es concentren en els immigrants del Tercer Món que són una de les fonts d'immigració. (Pla Interdepartamental d'Immigració, 1993: 43-44)

It goes on and, in a similar way as some aforementioned authors suggest, the plan states that 'without denying the differences, it is on similarities and points in common that an integration policy is stressed, in a policy of equal rights and duties'. The ways of fostering immigrants' integration noted in this 'conceptual' part of the plan are: the extension of the knowledge and social use of 'the own language of Catalonia' among immigrants; spreading knowledge about the social reality of Catalonia among

immigrants; allowing immigrants to participate in the construction of present and future projects of the country (i.e. social participation in their respective neighbourhoods, in the 'normalised associative ambits', in voluntary tasks, etc.); spreading information about immigrants among the rest of the population. As a final comment, the integration's conceptualisation chapter ends underlying that the intercultural integration should be based on shared identity features such as language, knowledge of the local history, values of freedom, equality and justice:

Des de la perspectiva d'integració intercultural es cerca construir de manera dinàmica i viva un país en el qual es consolidin unes senyes d'identitat compartides: idioma, coneixement de la pròpia realitat i història, valors de llibertat, igualtat i justícia, tot respectant i integrant-se en un conjunt de gent i cultures, el conjunt de valors i dels actius de tota la gent que viuen en un mateix país, dels que hi han nascut i dels que hi han vingut de fora. (Pla Interdepartamental d'Immigració, 1993: 44)

In this sense, some complexities of the 'integration' conceptualisation are translated into an official document, which is mainly concerned with 'cultural' issues (in a context where Catalan and Castillian languages are involved in a dynamic process of use in several spheres), and the question of rights, duties and shared values.

In relation to the implementation of this Plan, 32 'programmes' were proposed to be carried out by eight departments of the Generalitat and other administrative bodies. However, in general, it did not make concrete how to implement such programmes nor the money necessary to do so. But it mentioned that the coordination, assessment and participation in the development of the Immigration Interdepartmental Plan was going to be at two levels, as it was passed by the Decree 275/1993, of 28 September (later it was redacted anew in the Decree 176/1994, of 13 July):

- The Immigration Interdepartmental Commission, which was a reconstitution of the one created one year earlier (with the addition of the Justice Department) has, as main functions, the direction and supervision of the implementation of the Plan.
- The Immigration Advisory Council (*Consell Assessor d'Immigració*) is constituted as a consultative and external participatory body. It should allow the participation of local governments, NGOs, trade unions, employers organisations and recognised experts.

As Montserrat Solé, the secretary of this advisory council, notes, its 32 members include the social affairs councillor of the Generalitat de Catalunya, representatives from the labour and education departments, representatives of the two federations of local governments and of four *consells comarcals*, six 'foreign immigrants' associations, six other NGOs, two trade unions, the employers' organisation, parents' associations, neighbourhood associations, etc. They have meetings five or six times a year, in contrast to one or two sessions a year in the central government Immigration Forum. In the Generalitat advisory council, sessions are usually mono-thematic meetings, although if there are news or urgent issues there is flexibility to deal with them.

In order to organise and run this advisory council there is just one person - Montserrat Solé (although she is supported by general administrative staff of the Social Welfare Department). She usually has a contact in all the ten departments that participate in the Immigration Interdepartmental Commission. She considers that the degree of sensitiveness to immigration issues that public administrations' individual staff have makes a difference to policy-making:

“Una mica el tema de la immigració, jo sempre dic el mateix, no és tant que tinguis competències o diners o que et pertoqui o no et pertoqui, sino que estiguis sensibilitzat. Si la persona que es designa per a que hi treballi ho sent i li agrada, s'ho inventarà, farà coses, trobarà uns o uns altres per a que facin no se qué. Si no li agrada és un tema que no hi ha sensibilitat, ni que tingui diners, ni que li digui el polític has de treballar. Bueno, ho farà, però ho farà d'una altra manera, i lo important és trobar gent amb ganes i sensible en el tema. Normalment el que han fet els directors generals de cada departament és [triar] la persona que tenien en el seu equip que més sensible estava.” (Montserrat Solé)

As in the central and local government discourse on immigrants' integration, Montserrat Solé notes that the main aim of the Generalitat de Catalunya immigration policies is to 'normalise', in other words, it tries to avoid specific policies for immigrants unless they are strictly necessary (e.g. language/s teaching). Their objective is to include immigrants in the general services of the Catalan administration as with any other user.

However, the Generalitat does not see it as necessary to incorporate immigrants into the public administration bodies in order to improve the treatment of 'foreign

immigrants'. According to them, it may be necessary for NGOs that deal 'directly' with immigrants, but not for the Generalitat, which just plans and coordinates policies:

"No hi han immigrants que estiguin treballant a l'administració, que jo sàpiga, no hi ha cap ... L'exemple dels Estats Units o Anglaterra, que la política que han fet cap als immigrants era una mica la idea que per entrar en els grups d'immigrants s'havia de fer através dels propis immigrants i havien de contractar gent del país d'origen, em sembla que això no és. A veure, des d'una ONG o d'una entitat que treballa directament amb els immigrants sí, perquè aquest element és positiu, però des d'una administració que el que fem és planificar, si tens en compte el que et diuen les entitats no tens perquè ser immigrant. És com si em diguessis que per treballar amb la gent gran tens que tenir gent vella treballant a l'administració, els vells ja estan jubilats,... Aleshores des d'un ajuntament que es treballa més proper, des d'una entitat, des d'un sindicat, que treballa directament, que ha d'haver contacte, que continuament ha d'haver més empatia, tot això, i han d'haver mediadors, el que sigui. Ara des de la Generalitat, que la funció que tenim en aquest tema és de planificació i coordinació, això no té perquè ser necessari." (Montserrat Solé)

As the central government, the Generalitat in practice has just focused on the integration of immigrants from 'poorer' countries, excluding European Union immigrants and those from other OECD countries in their policies. In fact, they did not know whether there were immigrants' associations from those countries in Catalonia:

"Tot i que el pla és d'immigració, i no fa distinció si de primer món o de tercer món ... suposo que sempre que parles d'immigrants sempre tens al cap uns immigrants i no uns altres, suposo que bueno, per problemàtiques econòmiques. I és que tampoc sé si n'hi ha d'associacions d'immigrants d'Estats Units"

- sí

"sí que n'hi ha? I suposo que deuen tenir problemes també, però no. Sí que sé que a la Federació d'Associacions d'Immigrants també hi ha una associació de professors d'anglès, que tenen unes problemàtiques molt particulars també, però, clar, són problemàtiques diferents a les que tenen els altres, i llavors clar, si són més problemàtics (*laughs*). I els comunitaris a mesura que ja som tots ciutadans europeus doncs ja [no tenen tantes dificultats]. Alguns problemes encara n'hi ha, l'altre dia sortia en les jornades que vam fer que per sol·licitar beques escolars s'ha de ser nacional espanyol, i per tant ni els francesos, ni xinos, ni els japonesos, tenen dret a beques, el que passa és que també normalment no en necessiten de beques, però sí que pot ser que hi hagin immigrants comunitaris que no siguin rics, però bueno, com que no són majoria, doncs no." (Montserrat Solé)

Generalitat has relations both with central government and local government bodies related to immigration issues. However, in the case of the Barcelona city government, there is a certain confusion in the Generalitat on who is in charge of what:

"Amb l'Ajuntament, el problema que hi ha és que hi han tres persones, no? Cada un en el seu àmbit, però són tres persones de tres àrees diferents que tots treballen en tres àrees d'immigració, i llavors pot ser no acabes de saber amb qui has de parlar quan." (Montserrat Solé)

The following pages examine the approach of the Barcelona city government to policies on immigration.

6.2.3 The Barcelona's governmental level

There are two main levels of local administration: one rooted at the province level (the 'Diputació provincial') and another rooted at the council level ('municipal' bodies, metropolitan bodies, and 'comarcal' bodies).

At the council level, the two most important authorities are the *Ajuntament de Barcelona* (City Government)¹¹⁷, and the ten administrative *districtes* of the city (until recently they had just a few competencies, today they have a few more, but a possible reform of the internal city administration may foster district governments in the future).

Another significant administration at the local level was a corporation of councils created in order to manage what is called the Barcelona Metropolitan Area. In 1974 there appeared the *Corporació Metropolitana de Barcelona (CMB)* that embraced 27 municipalities (476 Km.², 3 million people). It had a short history, and in 1987 the Catalan Parliament voted its dissolution, after several battles between the mainstream centre-left wing parties (PSC, PSUC-IC¹¹⁸) which supported the corporation, and the liberal-conservative nationalist coalition CiU (which had a majority in the Catalan Parliament and the Government of the *Generalitat de Catalunya*) that did not agree with the possibility of a counterpower within Catalonia (in a similar way in the UK, Margaret Thatcher disbanded the Great London Council). Then, two specialised metropolitan bodies were created: one to manage transport (it embraced an area of 18 municipalities), and another to manage the water cycle and the elimination of waste (32

¹¹⁷ In the elections of June 1995 who became in charge of the Barcelona city government was the Partit dels Socialistes de Catalunya (PSC), who held the simple majority of votes, with the support of Iniciativa per Catalunya (IC), and Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya (ERC). However, in 1996, a faction of ERC split to create the Partit per la Independència (PI) and the two councillors of that party became members of the latter. In June 1999, PSC won elections again and its candidate was elected for mayor with the support of IC (PI did not obtain representation, but ERC did).

¹¹⁸ PSUC was considered the Communist Catalan party. At the end of the 1980s it was transformed in Iniciativa per Catalunya (IC). In 1997 the Communist faction split, and in coalition with other groups created in 1998 Esquerra Unida i Alternativa (EUiA), the so-called reference of Izquierda Unida in Catalonia. From these different left-wing political factions came a very significant part of the support to immigrants from impoverished regions (both internal and international) in Catalonia, although they were not the only ones supporting migrants. Also far-left wing parties (like LCR, MCC, later Revolta, etc.), progressive Catholic groups, etc. gave support to them.

municipalities). However, to deal with other issues, the metropolitan municipalities where the left-wing parties were in power (the majority) created a metropolitan association of towns and cities called *Mancomunitat de Municipis de l'Àrea Metropolitana de Barcelona (MMAMB)* that still exists, although it does not have legislative power.

In Barcelona, the City Council can be divided into two separate organisations: one being of a 'political nature', and another one of an executive nature. The *Political* organisation, formed by elected members or Councillors, is made up of two bodies:

- A decision-making body with Plenary Commissions on: Civic Participation, Citizens' Relations and Sports, Public Health, Housing, Culture, Public Function and Quality, Youth and Women, Furnishing, Sustainable City, Civil Rights, Education and Tourism
- A consultative-coordinating body with commissions on: Social Welfare and Education, Friendly City and Youth, Commerce and Consumption, Territorial Balance and Urban Planning, Tax and Infrastructures, Environment and Urban Services, Furnishing and Security, Employment and Economic Promotion, Land and Housing Policy, Culture and Presidency Policy.

The *Executive* administration is made up of a grouping of five functional sectors (general services, personnel services, maintenance and services, public ways and urbanism), and ten districts (with responsibilities in terms of urbanism, public ways, maintenance of infrastructures, personnel services, population, etc.).

There is a third set of bodies, which are of a separate legal nature and created by, or in participation with, the City Council, and can be divided into three groups, according to the different models of functional decentralisation: local autonomous institutions (for instance, Housing Municipal Institute, Barcelona Cultural Institute, Urbanism Municipal Institute), municipal trading societies (for instance, Barcelona Activa S.P.M., S.A.), mixed economy trading societies (for instance, Promoció de Ciutat Vella- PROCIVESA, Barcelona Holding Olímpic, S.A). (see <http://www.bcn.es>).

In relation to immigration issues, a line of continuity between local policies to deal with Spanish internal immigration during the 1960s and early 1970s and 'foreign

immigration' during the 1980s and 1990s is noted by Pere Novella¹¹⁹, who indicates commonalities and differences between both municipal immigration policies. Among commonalities, Novella underlines an attitude that in general avoids a different treatment for groups based on diverse cultural or geographical backgrounds. He denies the importance of a specific job called 'mediator', but everybody should do mediation between diverse people. Furthermore, for Novella, in Barcelona it is possible to enjoy the cultures of origin without conflicts and without sharp social divisions:

"Hi ha elements molt comuns, i hi ha elements diferenciadors. Els elements comuns jo diria que són els elements bàsics, és a dir, pensar que no s'ha de fer cap distinció entre persones d'origen i persones que han nascut [aquí]. És a dir, per lo tant, això vol dir una igualtat de drets per tothom, vol dir generar un marc de convivència a on tothom s'hi senti còmode, per dir-ho d'alguna forma. Vol dir assumir, també, i aquest seria un altre element, que la cultura és un procés dinàmic, i que per tant s'enriqueix amb les aportacions que fan diferents grups culturals o d'origen ètnic, vol dir que cal una gran responsabilitat social, política, de tota la societat, de totes les associacions ciutadanes respecte a afavorir aquest procés de convivència, aquest procés d'integració, de persones que acaben d'arribar amb persones que ja fa anys que hi són, i evidentment nosaltres pensem que tots aquests elements nosaltres pensem que són comuns, pensem que aquesta experiència, que va ser molt més, quantitativament molt més important, és a dir, pensem per exemple que entre la dècada del 60 i el 70 als municipis de l'àrea metropolitana van arribar un milió d'immigrants, i nosaltres per lo tant pensem que en aquest procés d'integració i convivència té que haver-hi evidentment una continuïtat. I que no és només les administracions les que ho varen fer, i que aquest procés de continuïtat tenim que fer una reflexió molt seriosa, perquè tenim molts elements que són molt vàlids. És a dir, a veure, a ningú se li ocorreix pensar que calia fer un mediador entre un immigrant gitano i una persona d'aquí, i en canvi ara comença a haver-hi moltes figures de mediadors, o no cal uns serveis específics per als andalusos. ... Aquesta és la idea de ciutat, una ciutat que es nodreix de persones de múltiples procedències, cadascú amb la seva cultura, ... pues evidentment hi han centres no sé, hi han centres de barri, anem a suposar, Nou Barris, pues hi ha el centre García Lorca, el Manuel de Falla, que són centres a on les persones d'origen andalusí pues es troben, fan el seu foment de la seva cultura d'origen, tot això pensem que és molt positiu, i això no ha sigut cap drama." (Pere Novella)

For Novella, other aspects than just the country of origin have to be taken into account, such as the rural-urban divide. Because, according to him, a university student from Dakar (the capital city of Senegal) has more in common with a university student born in Barcelona than the latter one with a peasant in a small village in Andalusia, even if both are Spanish citizens. In this sense, Novella tells old stories about some Andalusian immigrants cultivating tomatoes in a Barcelona public garden or putting a donkey in a building, and how it does not happen today:

"Recordo per exemple, el procés, no se, quan s'estaven construint els habitatges del Grupo de la Paz, a la Gran Via, que la gent es posava, fa uns anys, es posaven les mans al cap: 'escoltim, és que estan cultivant tomàquets als llocs que eren els jardins', 'escolti, és que algú ha pujat un ase a la banyera', bueno, eren situacions que a lo millor és donaven. Però en canvi veiem, per exemple,

¹¹⁹ Civil servant responsible for the City Government Plan on Ethnic Minorities (within the Social Welfare area).

si ara anem a aquells, a aquells llocs, per exemple al Grupo de la Paz vint anys després trobes que la gespa a lo millor està més cuidada que a altres llocs de la ciutat i que els veïns mateixos se'n cuiden, evidentment ja no hi ha cap ase... és a dir, que la gent ha fet un procés de canvi, perquè? per que és lo lògic, al estar dins de la ciutat un es va modificant, igual que ho fa cada individu, fa el seu canvi en funció del grup que l'envolta i de les relacions que té, i del lloc que ocupa." (Pere Novella)

However, Novella recognises real differences between both immigration waves which are mainly based on the lack of some citizens' rights in the case of 'foreigners', the languages issue, and an apparently higher refusal to welcome 'foreigners' among local people:

"En canvi sí que hi han unes diferències, que són diferències jurídico-normatives, que són importantíssimes, i que això genera una especificitat del fenomen. Eh, clar, nosaltres quan venien immigrants no tenien problemes de papers, no tenien problemes de drets polítics, no tenien problemes de drets socials, en canvi amb la nova immigració si que ens trobem que hi han molts problemes d'aquests, ... n'hi ha algun element nou, a veure, el tema de les llengües, quan et venia un immigrant abans parlava o català o castellà normalment. amb lo qual no tenia aquesta dificultat, ara et pot arribar gent que no conegui ni el català ni el castellà, per tant ara tenim que fer un esforç i donar resposta i facilitar l'aprenentatge de la llengua ... També és cert que pot haver-hi un prejudici, i això és una hipotesi, més important, és a dir, si que és cert que de cara als altres immigrants que arribaven abans [d'altres àrees de l'estat espanyol], hi havia gent que els deia els *xarnegos*, hi havia una actitud de rebuig, una actitud de superioritat, d'ètnocentrisme cultural, ... pot ser que aquesta part respecte als immigrants que venen del Magreb, etc., sigui més important, o més significativa, i aquest és també un element a tenir en compte." (Pere Novella)

In relation to foreigners' rights, they do not have the right to vote in Spain, with the exception of those from European Union (EU) countries who can participate in local elections. In 1994 the number of naturalisations in Spain as a whole was 7,801, which is only 1.6 percent of the documented foreign residents in Spain in 1993¹²⁰, and in 1995 there were naturalised just 6,756 foreigners, which represent 1.4 percent of the foreign residents in 1994 (461,364 people)¹²¹. Thus, this data suggests that only a small minority of the immigrants from abroad are Spanish citizens with full rights. However, there are diverse situations, as Latin Americans and Philipino immigrants can obtain nationality (and the right to vote) after two years of legal residence while most others need 10 years.

¹²⁰ The great majority of this naturalisations (4,355) were conceded to Latin Americans, and just a few to Africans (1,227) and Asians (1,086). This is because the legislation favour the nationals of the most of the former Spanish colonies (Spanish speaking American countries, Ecuatorial Guineans, Philipineans). Source: DGM (1996) *Anuario de Migraciones 1995*, Madrid: Ministerio de Asuntos Sociales.

¹²¹ It can be worthwhile to note that if the Argentinians naturalised in 1995 were 1,314 people (and 1,690 people in 1994), the Moroccan naturalised were just 785 people (and 897 people in 1994), when the number of Moroccan residents was higher.

In 1986, under the district organisation and citizens' participation rules, the Barcelona city council created advisory councils on Social Welfare, Professional and Employment Training, Voluntary associations, Women, Elderly people, etc. Thus in the Social Welfare area (*Àmbit de Benestar Social*) of Barcelona City Council there is an Advisory Board on foreign immigration and refugees; it has been working since the late 1980s, with the participation of representative members of political parties, trade unions (some of them foreign workers), NGOs, universities, local, autonomic, and central government civil servants, and professional associations. However, in the period between 1990 and 1996¹²² foreigners' associations have not been members of the Council, they have participated just a few times as guests at meetings. It has been the case of a member of the Centro Filipino in the period 1991-1993, and of two members of the Federació de Col·lectius d'Immigrants a Catalunya (FCIC) in 1996. In that context, the contacts between local government members and foreign immigrant associations members were, in general, informal.

In light of this situation, on 24 October 1997 Barcelona City Council passed the rules of the Consell Municipal d'Immigració de Barcelona. This initiative has the support of the European Commission programme on local integration LIA. The genesis of this advisory council is explained by Pere Novella, underlining the relationship with immigrant's associations along the way, discussing the rules of the Immigration Advisory Council with a few of them closer to the city government:

“El consell aquest de persones immigrades és primer, un procés similar a altres consells de participació que teníem a l'Ajuntament, o sigui, a l'Ajuntament ja fa uns quants anys es va crear el Consell Assessor de la Gent Gran i el Consell de les Dones de Barcelona ... Vam pensar que podria ser interessant fer el mateix amb la gent immigrada d'origen estranger, per entendre'ns, i llavors intentar-ho també amb el poble gitano, o sigui, fer així dos consells. Allavors, el procés va ser una mica buscar a les associacions d'immigrants ... que tenim relacions i tal, pues comentar-lis una mica la idea, ells com ho veien, tal, això informalment, d'alguna forma, i lateralment, etc. Després ja vam fer una convocatòria a unes 16-20 entitats entre les associacions d'immigrants que tenim constància que tenen un cert rol i un cert paper, no vam convidar a tothom per que lo que volíem era fer un cert procés inicial de discussió ... Preferien no fer nosaltres unes normes, evidentment és un consell municipal i per tant és l'Ajuntament qui les aprova, però preferíem fer des de l'inici que tot el procés normatiu, fins i tot quin és el reglament intern del propi consell fos molt participatiu, i llavors vam pensar, si cridem a totes les associacions, treballar amb 40 persones, o 30 això pot allargar-se moltíssim. Llavors el que vam fer va ser buscar les que més relació teníem, les que tenien de certa forma alguna incidència, i ara que ja, ... el proper plenari ... ha d'aprovar si no hi ha cap novetat les normes definitives, llavors

¹²² See the reports “Barcelona som tots” of the period 1990-1996 elaborated by the Consell Municipal de Benestar Social, Ajuntament de Barcelona.

apartir d'aquí sí que podrem fer una invitació a totes les entitats que estan a la ciutat, per si volen participar." (Pere Novella)

This is a clear instance of how a government may 'use' some social organisations (which become institutionalised) in order to elaborate and legitimise policies, without giving more power to people. Thus Gramsci's inspired approach to the state, as the addition of government plus institutionalised civil society, is reflected here. However, as it will be noted in chapter 8, not all social organisations play this game.

Furthermore, in Barcelona city, joint forms of participation between the city government and other organisations have been implemented in immigration issues. Thus, there is a Service to attend to foreign immigrants and refugees (*Servei d'Atenció a Immigrants Estrangers i Refugiats, SAIER*) organised by Barcelona City Council; the Centre d'Informació per a Treballadors Estrangers - CITE (this is the body of the trade union CCOO that deals with foreign workers' affairs); the Associació Catalana de Solidaritat i Ajuda als Refugiats (ACSAR); the Red Cross; and the College of Barristers. In 1995, 2,350 cases were dealt with in the SAIER, among them 73.8 percent were 'economic immigrants' and 26.2 percent 'asylum seekers'¹²³. One of the members of the office was an Equatorial Guinean immigrant naturalised Spanish (a member of the CITE). However, no 'foreign immigrant' associations participate in ruling this service.

Beside the social welfare area, in Barcelona city government, in early 1992, the then Mayor Pasqual Maragall (PSC) appointed Josep Ignasi Urenda as Mayor's Commissionnaire for Civil Rights. He was put in charge of monitoring the developments of ethnic and religious minorities in Barcelona city. In 1995, after the local elections, a new specific Government *Regidoria* of civil rights was created (presided over by Agustí Soler, first ERC, later PI), and then the Commissionnaire's main duties shifted to international relations (*Barcelona Solidària*), although immigration issues were kept as a minor but significant part of his activities. Among them, the development of an observatory on immigration in Barcelona city (it has consisted mainly in the compilation of diverse statistical data from official sources and

¹²³ Source: Catàleg de Serveis Personals, Gerència Àmbit de Benestar Social, Ajuntament de Barcelona, 1995.

from some NGOs) and a small budget to grant those NGOs and trade unions that collaborate with them providing data on immigrants for the observatory (mainly, Caritas, CITE, and AMIC). Thus the statistical control of immigrants is partially 'sub-contracted' (without a contract) to some NGOs, in a neoliberal way.

There is no one point of view within Barcelona city government in relation to immigration, and Pere Novella's visions contrast with Urenda's perceptions of what happens when a foreign immigrant from an impoverished country acquires Spanish nationality. For the latter, they are still a minority who need special treatment and to be monitored:

"És molt important la colònia de Santo Domingo, sí que és molt important la colònia filipina,... aquests tenen per altra banda una situació diferenciada perquè poden adquirir la nacionalitat espanyola, i això fa que hi hagi un *drenaje* continuu del col·lectiu, perquè ja no figuren en les estadístiques d'estrangers, perquè ja són espanyols, per mi continuen sent minories i, per tant, quan parlem de minoria es transfigura. De moment l'he identificat per origen nacional, però d'aquí quatre dies els nanos que han nascut, i ja tenim els ciutadans de Guinea per exemple, els ciutadans de Guinea que són espanyols. Un dia vaig anar a un programa de televisió, erem quatre o cinc, hi havia un ciutadà marroquí, un marroquí millor dit, una filipina i un africà de Guinea, i al sortir, tots són espanyols (*laughs*). O sigui, parlaven com immigrants, però ja tenen la nacionalitat, així que per que canviï la nacionalitat no canvia la persona substancialment, ni canvia les relacions humanes ni la seva concepció del món, normalment continuen, amb la qual cosa, les minories procedents de la immigració són el fenomen dinàmic en el que estem ficats en aquests moments, perquè tenim neixements de nanos, de pares i mares nascuts en aquests països, els pares i les mares, però que els pares han nascut aquí, relativament, eh ..." (Josep Ignasi Urenda)

This contrast is more explicit when we discover which are the 'theoretical' references for each one. Thus, while Pere Novella during the interviews is critical of the Anglo-Saxon way of dealing with the 'ethnic minorities' issue, Ignasi Urenda's administrative body's name includes 'civil rights' because of an Anglo-Saxon influence:

"Diguem que això són tradicions, tradicions diguem lingüístiques quasi, per una influència anglosaxona, perquè al món anglosaxó es parla més de drets civils quan es refereix a les minories, i com nosaltres tenim la vocació d'enfocar precisament el tema de cara a les minories, preferia la denominació drets civils, enlloc de drets humans, perquè drets humans és un adjectiu més general, diguem. Ara es pot opinar, perquè també existeix el Pacte Internacional de Drets Civils que és una concreció de la Declaració Universal de Drets Humans, però havíem dit drets civils per diferenciar-los de drets econòmics i socials, o de drets, sí, bàsicament de drets econòmics i socials, drets econòmics i socials són la resta que no són civils." (Josep Ignasi Urenda)

In any case, it has to be underlined that both local administrative bodies share the core of the city government immigration policy, which is based on avoiding the creation of

administrative bodies specific to 'foreign immigrants', unless it is really necessary, and an explicit rejection in their discourse of the urban concept of 'ghetto'.

The relations between city government and social organisations sometimes need mediation. Before analysing such relations in depth, a first instance can be taken into account. The process of reaching an agreement to build a Muslim cemetery in Barcelona has not been an easy task. The 'distance' between the local city government and the main Islamic associations based in the city was a difficulty, while the division among the Moroccan associations (the main Muslim community in Barcelona) did not help at all. In this context, the role of a small Lebanese association was the key to reaching a compromise to arrange a place for Muslim burials. One of the representative members of such an association participates too in a trade union, and he was close to one of the political parties of the centre-left wing coalition that was in power in the Barcelona city government¹²⁴. The fact he was not a member of a faction of the Moroccan community, and that he was not Muslim (thus he was not a member of any faction of the Islamic associations) but representative of an association with several Muslim members¹²⁵, were helpful points in reaching the agreement. Finally, this agreement was signed at the end of 1997 by Barcelona's city council, and the following associations: Associació de Catalunya Líban, Centre Islàmic, Associació Palestina, and Associació per a la Protecció dels Drets dels Pakistanesos. Thus the Moroccan associations did not participate in the signature, although some of them were in the negotiations. In any case, the cemetery is open to all Muslim people, without discrimination according to origin, sex or nationality. The Cemetery is located in the general cemetery of Collserola, covers 552 square metres, and has a capacity for one hundred tombs.

This case has been an introduction to the complexities of the relations between associations and the local government in Barcelona. In following chapters, an in-depth approach to the situation in Barcelona will be carried out. Before that, Lisbon's situation deserves to be addressed.

¹²⁴ Later, this member left IC to join EUiA.

¹²⁵ Like in Lebanon society, the members of the Barcelona's Lebanese association are Christian, Muslim and Atheists.

6.3. 'Foreign immigration' policies in Lisbon: diversity at the national-state and city government levels

"Independência...
A África é dos africanos
Já chega quinhentos anos...
E ainda anda tanto português
A dizer talvez, a dizer talvez...
E a dizer 'pois sim' / E a dizer 'pois é'
E a dizer 'que remédio' / E a dizer Rodésia
E a dizer 'mas sabe' / E a dizer 'que pena'...
Sergio Godinho, 1974

Although Lisbon is not part of any region with competencies to implement policies (the Lisbon and Tagus Valley one was just created for statistical purposes), there are still two main governmental levels to take into account if the aim is to observe 'foreign immigration' policies in Lisbon: the Portuguese government level and the Lisbon city government level.

6.3.1 *The Portuguese governmental scale*

Although in Portugal Cape-verdean workers' immigration started in the 1960s, massive transcontinental immigration took place during the de-colonisation process of the mid 1970s, which affected naturalisation and immigration policies. Thus, as Cristóbal Mendoza (1998) has noted, long before Spain, a new nationality law was passed in 1975 (*Decreto-Lei 308-A, 24.6.1975*) which restricted nationality to those who lived in the colonies of Portuguese descent (and those who had special links with Portugal, such as those who supported the Portuguese army during the independence wars¹²⁶). However, those who were resident in the current territory of the Republic of Portugal when the independence of their country of origin was declared (and had no Portuguese-born parent or grandparent), needed a five-year period of residence in Portugal prior to 25 April 1974 in order to obtain Portuguese nationality.

¹²⁶ This was similar to the case of those Algerians who supported the French army during the independence war, the so-called *harkis*.

In 1981, a new nationality law was passed (*Lei 37/81, 3.10.1981*) which completely abandoned the *ius soli* principle, with children of non-Portuguese nationals born in Portugal being considered foreigners from 1981. In 1994 an amendment was passed, but the only remarkable change was that the new law established tougher criteria for nationals of non-Portuguese speaking countries to naturalise (*Lei 25/94, 19.8.1995*): until 1994, six years of legal residence were necessary to naturalise as a Portuguese citizen for all foreigners, from 1994 onwards, six years are required for those from Angola, Brazil, Cape Verde, Guinea Bissau, Mozambique and São Tomé e Príncipe, but ten years of residence are needed for nationals from other countries (Ministério da Administração Interna, in Mendoza, 1998). This was seen as a way of fostering the creation of the *Lusofonia*. In Portugal, in 1995, there were 1,413 naturalisations of foreign residents, which was only the 0.9 percent of the number of documented foreigners resident in 1994. Most of them were nationals from South American countries (694 naturalisations, including 431 Venezuelan residents¹²⁷ and 235 Brazilians), from African countries (373 naturalisations, including 169 Cape Verdean residents and 76 Angolan residents)¹²⁸, and North Americans (240 naturalisations). Only 45 EU citizens were naturalised Portuguese that year.

Regarding immigration policies, Portugal passed a Decree in 1981 (*Decreto-Lei 264-B/81, 3.9.1981*) which established a typology of residence permits and administrative procedures to regulate entry, stay and expulsion of foreigners. Today the status of 'foreigner' in Portugal is basically defined by the Republic's Constitution revision passed in 1989 (Carlos, 1993). However, another revised text passed by the Assembleia da República on November 1992 modified the article 15 (*Lei Constitucional 1/92, 25.11.92*): it added that European Union citizens residents in Portugal have the right to be elected and to participate in the European Parliament elections. Following this path, as a consequence of the Treaty on European Union and the Schengen Convention, two new immigration laws were passed in 1993 (the *Decreto-Lei 59/93, 3.3.1993* was aimed at non-EU citizens; and the *Decreto*

¹²⁷ The high number of Venezuelans is explained by the migration to Portugal of some children of Portuguese emigrants settled in that South American country

¹²⁸ See INE, *Estatísticas Demográficas 1995*, Lisboa, pp. 198-199 (for naturalisations in 1995) and INE, *Estatísticas Demográficas 1994*, Lisboa, p.188 (for total number of foreign residents in Portugal in 1994).

Regulamentar 43/93 15.12.1993 was related to EU citizens). In 1997 there was a new Constitution reform, but it did not affect these matters. For Maria Leonor Palma Carlos (1993), the Constitution has an integrationist perspective, because it defines the principle that foreigners and stateless residents in Portugal have rights and they are subject to the duties of the Portuguese citizen.

However, in general, a few years ago foreign immigration policies in Portugal were considered a sideline, and in general there still exists a significant concern on emigration issues as recent publications reflect (Baganha, Gois, 1999; Lopes, 1997; Rocha-Trindade, 1995; Amaral, 1993). According to Guibentif (1996), the immigration issue arose suddenly in the early 1990s, while two mainstream discourses were distinguished: the centre-right wing PSD party (then in office) invoked this topic in the context of a country modernisation effort to narrow differences with the rest of Europe. Thus the Schengen agreements were ratified, which consequently implied a greater control of borders and foreign resident populations. In the statutory field, in the autumn of 1992 and early 1993, a campaign for foreigners' regularisation had been carried out. This process was object of several criticisms: on the one hand, it had favoured abusive practices by some employers (as a result of the need for a labour contract to apply for a residence permit); on the other hand, a Catholic Church body criticised the briefness of the process (Guibentif, 1996).

Apart from being president of a Bissau Guinean association, Fernando Ká was MP for the PS from 1991 until 1995, when the PSD was in power. His job as MP was not an easy one because he had to face both his party and the general institutional framework in instances of immigrants' mobilisation before the first extraordinary regularisation process (1992-93). Fernando Ká found that nobody wanted to discuss African immigrants' problems because most politicians were afraid of being accused of racism. He believes that to solve a problem it is first necessary to recognise its existence:

“Efectivamente há uma falta de cultura política em relação aos assuntos da cultura africana e hoje é uma espécie de tabu: é aquilo que as pessoas não querem mexer nele. Porque o português, discutir problemas que tenham a ver com a comunidade negra é um problema do racismo, então os portugueses não querem ser racistas, pretendem não ser racistas, então ninguém fala. Mesmo aqueles que dizem que não são racistas quando tocam estes problemas sentem-se incomodados e penso que nós não podemos combater o mal se não reconhecer que o mal existe, um doente só

procura um médico quando reconhecer que ele é doente, porque se não não vai procurar o médico nunca, se se convence que não está doente.” (Fernando Ká)

The then main opposition party, the Socialist party (PS), and some NGOs and left-wing political parties (PCP and PSR), were concerned in reporting the remaining poverty areas which allowed the existence of an uneven social situation. Such opposition groups especially denounced the misery and social marginalisation that a significant part of the population from Portuguese-speaking African countries were suffering. In reaction to those campaigns, the PSD government in May 1993 passed some measures to support immigrants and ethnic communities. The Ministries Council Resolution 38/93, 15 May, defined an integration policy and the measures to adopt with that aim. Previously to that change, Machado (1993) had seen the attitude of the government as non-interventionist, which had kept the foreign immigrants out of the political agenda, as ‘apolitical and submissive’. However, with that resolution, although different points of view still existed, a kind of consensus was created: Portugal already was a ‘country of immigration’.

According to Maria Leonor Palma Carlos and Genoveva Galvão Borges (1994), opposition campaigns demanded a governmental department specific to immigration issues, but the government just conceded competences on social and professional integration of immigrants and ‘ethnic minorities’ to the Ministry of Employment and Social Security, although not to the detriment of the competences of the Foreign Affairs Ministry on cooperation. The measures on ‘social integration’ were the following:

- Improvement of the instruments, mainly legislative, of support to immigrants and ethnic minorities, with the focus on education, work training, and social action
- Development, in the work training domain, of information measures and access to professional and employment formation
- In the social action domain, to carry out activities towards the population concerned
- Support for local development initiatives in places of immigrant and ‘ethnic minority’ concentration
- Strengthening of actions, projects and programmes of cooperation with African Portuguese-speaking countries in employment and professional domains.

It was suggested that for the concretion of such a programme, a dialogue with the 'social agents', representative associations of the concerned population, private institutions of social solidarity and other entities should take place. In this way, a coordinated action of central power and local authorities was proposed. However, later, those coordinations and dialogues did not take place in a regular basis.

In February 1994, the Portuguese Foreign Affairs Ministry was reorganised in order to give priority to immigration issues over emigration issues. This was a progressive reinforcement of the *Serviço de Estrangeiros e Fronteiras, SEF* (Borders and Foreigners Service), a body of the *Ministério da Administração Interna* (Home Office), with the aim of preparing and executing measures relative to immigration policy. In October 1995 the national elections produced a change of government. Once the Socialist party (PS) was in office, a second regularisation of foreigners was carried out, during the last months of 1996:

“No ano 92, nós demos muita colaboração sobretudo na linha de estimular as pessoas a se legalizarem. Depois criou-se, o Estado fez uma lei sobre os estrangeiros e nós interviemos muito nessa lei. Não ficámos muito contentes e pedimos outro processo de regularização que levou muito tempo, foi uma luta grande, mas fez-se outro período de legalização [em 1996] e este já foi melhor, muita mais gente ficou legalizada.” (Padre Manuel Soares)

However, the number of immigrants regularised in 1996 was less than that expected by several social organisations, including for instance trade unions leaders affiliated to the CGTP and SOS Racismo leaders:

“Houve pouca informação, porque ficou muita gente sem legalizar. Nós temos bastantes colegas que não estão legalizadas e que são aproveitadas para trabalhos pesados e por pouco salário, tinha-se que haver feito antes da legalização uma informação, mas uma informação de longo prazo, de muito tempo, para que as pessoas soubessem o que deviam fazer, o que não deviam fazer, porque as pessoas nem informadas são: vivem nos bairros, nesses bairros, nos ghettos, ... a maior parte das pessoas moram nissos bairros pobres, nissos bairros que pagam menos dinheiro, mesmo que não sejam barracas, que sejam prédios, nos ghettos, se fizeram propaganda, pôr no correio, informar as pessoas, como é que tinham que legalizar, o tempo de legalização, os documentos que eram precisos, e formarem assim comissões de bairro, reuniões para as pessoas, puseram propaganda na televisão mas há muitas pessoas nos bairros que nem eles têm para ouvirem ou escutarem um rádio ou televisão ... foi um tempo muito curto e faziam-se bichas e bichas de gente.” (Nelia Johnston)

“O governo português abriu um período de legalização, mas o trabalho de divulgação foi péssimo, e muitos imigrantes ilegais não sabiam nem se quer que estávamos num período de legalização. Houve outras associações de imigrantes que também fizeram esse trabalho de esclarecimento ... só que é tal cosa, deveria ter havido um trabalho conjunto que não existiu, até o próprio governo poderia estabelecer com as associações, com as ONGs, um trabalho de plataforma, até um

trabalho conjunto em que todos trabalhariam no mesmo sentido, isso nunca existiu.” (Manuela Oliveira)

Furthermore, the regularisation process is not yet finished. Almost 4,000 foreign workers are still waiting for an answer to their application for a permit. The Portuguese governmental body in charge of the 1996 regularisation process is the Comissão Nacional para a Regularização Extraordinária (CNRE), a commission passed by the government in the Law 7/96. This commission is shaped by five individuals who represent the Ministry of Justice, the Ministry of Social Solidarity, the Higher Commissioner for Immigrants and Ethnic Minorities, the immigrants' associations¹²⁹, and, finally, the Home Office (who presides over the commission). The CNRE is located in a floor of MAI's building. The procedures in the regularisation process work in the following way: there is an assessment of each application that was accepted in 1996 by the Home Office (namely, the *Ministerio da Administração Interna*, MAI, through the *Serviço de Estrangeiros e Fronteiras*, SEF) and its result is offered to the CNRE that is in charge of the deliberation and it takes the final decision. However, in fact, the CNRE is only in charge of the supervision of the appeals made by foreign immigrants who had seen their application already rejected during the regularisation process in 1996 in the official places where they submitted the forms. According to António Tavares, there were 35,082 processes that entered into the SEF, among them almost 4,000 were rejected from the beginning (among them 3,771 raised an appeal), thus 31,311 were admitted in 1996 to start procedures in order to be granted a permit, and among them around 27,000 had been passed until 1998, but almost 4,000 processes were then still waiting for an answer. In other words, in 1998, almost two years after the regularisation process started, there were around 4,000 foreign immigrants waiting for an answer from the Home Office to their application, and another 3,771 waiting for an answer to their appeal. And in the summer of 1999, such regularisation process was still open and at least 4,000 were trapped in this bureaucratic process¹³⁰.

¹²⁹ The immigrants' representative was elected in an assembly of social organisations prepared by the SCAL, a platform of social organisations created in the early 1990s to support the 'legalisation' of 'foreign immigrants' (see Chapter 8). The person elected was Antonio Tavares, from SOS Angola, who left his previous job in a bank in order to be contracted by the SEF during the period of the regularisation.

¹³⁰ See *Público*, 16-7-1999.

There have been some 'technical' problems dealing with the processes: in some cases the applicants were considered responsible for them (through changes of residence without notification to the authorities, for example), but in most cases the government was considered responsible (because of confusions in writing the address, or because the postal service often do not deliver letters in some Lisbon's shanty-towns because it is risky for postal workers to go there). Thus, bureaucracy is shown as a kind of colonisation of the lifeworld by the system.

In theory, those 8,000 foreign workers that were in 1998 still waiting for an answer from the Portuguese government to their application or appeal could have had a work contract, but most employers did not recognise the validity of the provisional document issued by the government (*recibo do destacável*). Until March 1998 just one appeal had been rejected in 3,771 cases, because according to the law nobody could be regularised if they had been in prison for over a year, and there was an Angolan citizen who had been sentenced to seven years in jail for drug dealing.

The reason why almost 4,000 people were rejected immediately after submitting the application form to the SEF in 1996 was because they were immigrants mainly from non-lusophone Asian (India, Bangladesh, Pakistan, China) and African (Senegal, Mali, Morocco, Tunis) countries - who needed more time of residence in Portugal to be regularised than Portuguese-speaking foreigners - and because the government considered that they had been living in other European countries before the regularisation process and came to Portugal just for that. However, their 3,771 appeals were accepted by the SEF (there were almost 200 people that did not appeal) and thus they were able to reside in Portugal in precarious conditions ready to be exploited by construction companies working against the clock to finish public works for Expo 98:

“A maior parte deles, primeiro deve-se dizer que desses cidadãos que lhes foram rejeitados logo a partida, são cerca de 4,000, são cidadãos asiáticos, maioritariamente da Índia, Bangladesh e Paquistão, e alguns da China também, por um lado. Por outro lado a razão que levou a maior parte à rejeição é pelo facto de não conseguir provar a sua entrada e permanência em território nacional no prazo que estava estipulado por lei, portanto, e pronto, lá também havia de facto, e isso noto-se, algumas redes clandestinas, portanto havia alguns que viviam em Espanha e que vieram inclusive com carros espanhóis, com matrícula espanhola, que vieram a se legalizar em Portugal, portanto na maior parte dos casos foram rejeitados porque não preenchiam, não conseguiam provar a sua entrada e permanência em território nacional ... É certo que todo este trabalho das grandes obras publicas só foi possível ser feito com a mão-de-obra africana e asiática, sem dúvida,

alguns indivíduos asiáticos também trabalham na construção civil e são muitos.” (António Tavares)

For António Tavares, the reason why it was not likely that the government was going to expel those immigrants after Expo 98 was not based on a human rights respect, but on the labour market need, because there were other public works (the Underground in Porto, etc.) and normal construction tasks such as housing were expected to continue for some time:

“A preocupação que se coloca muitas das vezes de forma política na sociedade é que será depois da construção das grandes obras. Eu penso que é de facto alguma matéria de reflexão mas não é matéria de preocupação, porque também houve várias obras a nível nacional que ficaram paradas, eu já falei com muitos dirigentes associativos sobre esse tema, falei com muitos sub-empregadores, e diziam que tinham várias obras paradas porque não tinham pessoal para ir trabalhar, o que significa que todos os imigrantes, ou a maior parte dos imigrantes, porque cerca de 90 por cento dos imigrantes trabalham na construção civil, estavam todos dedicados às grandes obras públicas porque recebem nomeadamente na Expo três, quatro vezes mais, e é natural que as obras no resto do país ficassem paradas, eu penso que ao terminar destas grandes obras públicas a própria mão-de-obra irá espalhar-se ao longo do país.” (António Tavares)

According to this member of the CNRE, who is the representative of immigrants' associations there, where foreign workers had their appeal rejected by the CNRE, they could appeal to the Home Secretary (Ministro da Administração Interna) and later to the courts.

Because of all these troubles, for some immigrants' leaders the concept of regularisation itself is seen as dangerous and negative for 'foreign immigrants', because then they stand out as 'different' and may become a target for the extreme right, and it acts as a magnet for de-documented immigrants in other European countries or from impoverished ones (Africa, Asia, etc.). Of course, some employers are interested in having a permanent number of de-documented *fresh* workers. Instead, in an interview, Arnaldo Andrade suggests having better normalised and ordinary ways of regularising foreigners without extraordinary measures.

Although the aforementioned failures and weaknesses in the 1996 regularisation process cannot be hidden, it is also true that the Socialist government has tried to draw a new form in the recognition of the rights of foreign immigrant populations: on 31 January 1996 it created a High Commissioner for Immigration and Ethnic Minorities (*Alto Comissário para a Imigração e as Minorias Étnicas*, ACIME) directly attached

to the Prime Minister¹³¹. The person appointed was José Leitão, a Socialist MP involved in immigration issues for a long time, concretely in the Lisbon city government Immigrants Advisory Council, and in the SCAL (a coordinating secretariat for immigrants' 'legalisation' created in the early 1990s by diverse social organisations, see Chapter 8). This small government body (just 12 people working full-time with ACIME) operates with all the *Ministérios* and is in charge of coordinating its immigration policies:

“As políticas em relação aos imigrantes ou as minorias étnicas nacionais, como por exemplo os ciganos, são políticas transversais, em que há a intervenção de todos os ministérios. Nessa medida nos colaboramos quer com o Ministério da Administração Interna, quer colaboramos com o Ministério do Trabalho e a Solidariedade, com o Ministério de Educação, portanto com diversos ministérios e secretarias de estado. Por outro lado, em termos nacionais podemos dizer que, pela primeira vez, que num programa de governo a palavra imigrante, com i, apareceu e havia vários capítulos com medidas relativas aos imigrantes, não quer dizer que a política se esgote naquilo que vinha expressamente no programa do governo, mas de qualquer forma isso é um dado importante ter-se em conta. Por tanto, a nossa contribuição foi no sentido desse nível de contribuir para que não só se esgotem no possível as políticas que já constam no programa do governo, como também, como foi o caso por exemplo da regularização extraordinária dos imigrantes em situação ilegal, como foi o caso da digamos a regulamentação do direito nas eleições locais da parte dos estrangeiros na base da reciprocidade ... como também a revisão da legislação de trabalho dos estrangeiros que neste momento está em discussão na sua especialidade na Assembleia da República.” (José Leitão)

In relation to the special rights for lusophone citizens, the High Commissioner notes that in fact there is a specialisation of migration flows that is supposedly natural, because he considers that for the Portuguese government it is easier to integrate Angolan people than for the Spanish government: “Acho que há uma certa especialização dos fluxos migratórios ... acho natural, para nós é mais fácil integrar angolanos que para os espanhóis”.

On the other hand, the High Commissioner also suggests policies to the government council (for example, a report and guidelines to integrate gypsy people in Portugal). Furthermore, it also has a social provision function, mainly as a source of information for immigrants:

“Nós também funcionamos como provedor social, as pessoas que têm os imigrantes ... que não sabem como resolver a sua situação, porque não se regularizaram, porque pediram a regularização mas os papeis não receberam a comunicação, por que pediram a nacionalidade portuguesa e nunca teve resolução, ou os jovens imigrantes que tiveram crianças e estão em situações difíceis, e que tem a ver com meios que há de dispôr, que há ajudas e que se podem

¹³¹ Jorge Sampaio, the current Socialist president, had encouraged, when he had been Mayor of Lisbon, the creation of an Immigrant Communities and Ethnic Minorities City Council.

canalizar, por tanto as mais diversas situações, ou com pessoas que simplesmente querem saber os seus direitos, como é que é, por tanto procuramos também não só de informar, como também junto da administração tentar ver se os ouvem, porque é que não os ouviram, o que é que é possível efectivamente fazer.” (José Leitão)

The High Commissioner also has a role in avoiding the exclusion of immigrants from general social policies, as the public housing plan:

“em muitas outras áreas a preocupação central é não excluir os imigrantes nas medidas que combatem a exclusão em geral, ... por exemplo, no plano de erradicação de barracas ... os imigrantes têm direito a habitação social como o resto dos portugueses [via as autarquias] ... quer na modalidade que este governo introduziu, que não tinha o governo anterior, que é a modalidade chamada PER-família, que é a possibilidade se a pessoa tiver algum dinheiro e querer investir na resolução do seu problema de habitação tem empréstimos praticamente sem juros, tem uma parte a fundo perdido, e pode comprar uma casa em qualquer sítio” (José Leitão)

Most NGOs, immigrants’ associations and trade unions interviewed found José Leitão an honest person who struggled for immigrants’ rights, but they also perceived that his post as High Commissioner for Immigrants and Ethnic Minorities as a government body was under-resourced to deal with the amount of problems that have to be resolved. Those of this opinion are Fernando Ká (president of the Bissau Guinean association and also a member of the PS), Arnaldo Andrade (leader of Associação Caboverdiana and UGT consultant) and, on the other hand, Manuela Oliveira (a SOS Racismo leader):

“O Alto Comissário é uma pessoa amiga pessoal minha, mas penso que posso criticá-lo quando tenho que criticar, quando há que criticar, porque uma coisa é separar uma relação afectiva com uma relação de serviço. E quanto a isso, pronto, não tem sido eficaz, o governo não tem dotado o Alto Comissário de meios para realmente desenvolver as responsabilidades na área em que é responsável, mas cabe ao Alto Comissário lutar para que essas condições se verifiquem. É a mesma coisa que o Ministro da Saúde ou o Ministro de Educação não recebesse do governo o dinheiro suficiente para levar a cabo a política de que é responsável: vai exigir. É isso o que eu sinto, que o Alto Comissário não exige do governo meios para poder exercer cabalmente as funções dele na área que é responsável.” (Fernando Ká)

“Ao criar o Alto Comissariado se reconheceu pela primeira vez que existe uma questão e que é preciso dar atenção. Obviamente é um passo, é um pequeno passo, terá que haver muito mais, mas existe uma afirmação constante e tem algumas acções colectivamente ao nível da instituição. Por exemplo, que institue o rendimento mínimo garantido também para os imigrantes, uns anos atrás duvido que tivesse sido, o programa de erradicação das barracas e da questão da habitação tem tendência geral a ser encarado em geral como cidadãos portugueses ... É verdade que o poder que ele tem é muito limitado, isso por um lado, mas também é verdade que o poder que ele tem depende muito dele, isto é: há uma margem de variabilidade que pode utilizar... a intenção não é só imagem, ainda que reconheça que é pouco, muito pouco, por vezes nós gostaríamos de ver o Alto Comissário com muito mais peso e capacidade de acção.” (Arnaldo Andrade)

“Com o Alto Comissário tentamos desenvolver muito trabalho embora que o trabalho do Alto Comissário da imigração em Portugal é um trabalho muito, muito fraco ... porque o Alto Comissário não faz praticamente nada, ele existe, aparece muito em reuniões, mas depois na resolução de problemas concretos não resolve.” (Manuela Oliveira)

Furthermore, the change of political majority did not imply any significant change in the control of entries (Guibentif, 1996). Continuity is the keyword in this policy area. This is partially due to, as in the Spanish case, international agreements such as Schengen. In 1996, in the airports alone, 1191 'clandestine' immigrant persons were discovered by the police (by the SEF), and just in January and February 1997 the number was 253. Angola was the chief country of origin (254 persons in 1996, 54 in the two first months of 1997), followed by Brazil (109 cases in 1996 and 28 in January and February 1997). Other African nationalities were Zaireans, Senegalese, Ghanaian, Nigerian, Guinean, and Caboverdians; and in relation to America, other nationalities were Bolivians and people from the Dominican Republic¹³². During 1998, the number of immigrants who were expelled, returned abroad or invited to leave Portugal rose to almost 2,000 people¹³³.

But in Portugal, police control on immigrants and their families goes beyond borders. Repression, random arrests and discrimination are also characteristic of Portuguese police practices in poor peripheral Lisbon neighbourhoods against black young men (most of whom arrived as children or were born in Portugal):

“Há uma crispação muito grande em relação à policia, particularmente na periferia da cidade, e há uma crispação recente com a policia de imigração. E com o Ministério de Administração Interna, MAI, mesmo que os responsáveis políticos tenham uma sensibilidade diferente, consegue-se dialogar, falar, mas todo o resto da estrutura é hermética”

- as novas camadas de policia não mudam?

“não há efeitos sensíveis por enquanto. Nós temos sugerido, as associações de imigrantes temos sugerido uma certa etnicização da policia, defendemos que se houver mais policia negros, africanos e asiáticos e as etnias todas diminui consideravelmente a crispação e a tensão, por uma questão de relação racial, do racismo, da suspensão que o comportamento do outro é motivado pelo racismo, haveria aí uma especie de distansão que poderia ser bom para o ambiente. Não sei se o MAI está convencido disso, poderia ser que sim, mas não sei”

- agora os problemas com a policia de que tipo são?

“particularmente porque nos bairros da periferia de Lisboa, porque há um ambiente degradado, é um ambiente propício ao crime e à criminalidade, são ambientes onde a policia não vai, então existe a associação imediata: ‘negro logo criminoso’, logo o policia desconfia; e do outro lado funciona ao contrário: ‘eu sou negro estou habituado a perceber as actitudes hostis ao mínimo detalhe e basta um olhar dum policia para perceber que é uma atitude hostil e portanto para reagir’. E funciona assim, não é preciso uma palavra, só um olhar.” (Arnaldo Andrade)

However, although there can be some similar features with the situation in some French neighbourhoods (see, for example, Ireland, 1994), unlike France, in Portugal

¹³² *Público*, 15 April 1997.

¹³³ *Público*, 14 May 1999.

the presence of ‘immigrants’ or ‘ethnic minorities’ is not an issue that divides major political parties sharply. On the contrary, the regularisation processes, and the right to vote in local elections (for those nationals whose country has signed a reciprocity agreement with Portugal) were passed in parliament unanimously.

6.3.2 The Lisbon government scale

The local administration in Portugal is mainly organised through *concelhos* (councils). At this council level the most important authorities are the *Câmaras Municipais* (city governments) and the *freguesias* (sub-municipalities); in Lisbon there are 53 which have some significant competences. The councils (*concelhos*) are grouped in *distritos*, thus Lisbon is part of the *Grande Lisboa*, together with other councils: Amadora, Cascais, Loures, Oeiras, Sintra and Vila Franca de Xira.

After the 25th of April 1974 revolution, local governments (*autarquias*) gained new attributions and responsibilities. Today it is the remit of the *Câmaras Municipais* to take care of their own, common and specific interests of the respective populations. Thus, according to the Law (*Lei 100/84*), the *Câmara Municipal* has direct responsibilities in relation to the following matters: city development, public supply, public hygiene and basic drainage, health, education, childhood and elderly protection, culture, leisure and sport, environment, and civil protection.

In the case of Lisbon, the city government (CML) is organised in 19 areas as follows: strategic planning and urban management, finance, culture, urban hygiene, environment and green spaces, housing, personal and properties security, education and youth, urban rehabilitation, tourism, transport and roads, social action, services modernisation and re-organisation, general administration, local intervention, trade and provision, buildings conservation, human resources, and sports.

On the other hand, in relation to immigration issues, according to the *Lei 50/96*, EU citizens have the right to vote in local elections if they reside in Portugal. The citizens from countries where the official language is Portuguese have to be living legally in Portugal for two years to vote in local elections, and four years to stand for office.

Other foreigners have to have three legal years of residence to vote and five years to be elected. However, the condition for the exercise of such rights is the principle of reciprocity with the states of foreign residents, thus there are only 20 countries included in the list. Only Cape Verdeans and Brazilians were the Lusophon communities with a right to vote in the December 1997 local elections (*autárquicas*), for the first time.

In general Lusophon immigrant associations were together in the platform *Convergência Lusófona* that lobbied to obtain African and Brazilian city councillors (*vereadores*)¹³⁴. This platform was also concerned with raising awareness in those candidates that stood for office to include in their programmes principles and actions to promote social integration of immigrants and ethnic minorities, to call for the solidarity of citizens with their origin in Lusophon countries to vote according with the flag of the integration of immigrants and ethnic minorities, to negotiate with candidates to local government the participation of citizens with origin in Lusophon countries in the administration organs of the local government¹³⁵.

In relation to specific participatory frameworks for immigrants and ethnic minorities, the Lisbon Municipal Assembly, met on 18th of March 1993 to pass unanimously, after the the deliberation No 455/AML/93, the proposal nº 55/93 referring to the creation of the *Conselho Municipal das Comunidades Imigrantes e das Minorias Étnicas* (the idea had been suggested before the elections to the then candidate Jorge Sampaio by Fernando Ká, an immigrants' leader and Socialist MP). This advisory council on immigration was thus backed by Sampaio, when became Lisbon's Mayor, and it was defined as a consultative organ with the objective of guaranteeing the participation of immigrant communities and ethnic minorities in the policies directed to their integration in society (it is linked to the CML's Social Action area). The activities of the Municipal Council of Immigrant Communities and Ethnic Communities have as main principles the following ones: to defend ethnic minorities' rights, with the aim of full integration in society, and to respect their own identity, immigrants' values and culture, and to promote intercultural dialogue.

¹³⁴ see *Publico* 17 March 1997, and *Sabidá* April 1997 (nº 39).

¹³⁵ *Sabidá*, May 1997 (nº 40).

The competencies of the council were defined as follows: a) to give the opinion on the policies of social integration of the communities; b) to propose social intervention activities, with the aim of resolving the problems that affect these groups; c) to guarantee the coordination of the actions carried out by the City Government in relation to the associations; d) to promote the realisation of studies that allow the knowledge of the situation of the communities; e) to propose initiatives linked with public and private entities with competencies and/or intervention in this ambit; f) to plan actions on information and clarification of the rights that these communities have, and social policies that aim for their full integration. The *Conselho Municipal das Comunidades Imigrantes e das Minorias Étnicas* has the following composition:

- *Vereador*, representative of the Câmara Municipal de Lisboa, who presides
- Representatives elected by the Municipal Assembly (*Assembleia Municipal*)
- Community associations, legally constituted, with intervention in the area of the Lisbon Council (*concelho*), in a number no more than 12
- Two citizens with recognised merit, that are outstanding in this area of social intervention. Both are named by the President of the *Conselho Municipal*.

In the meetings of the *Conselho Municipal das Comunidades Imigrantes e das Minorias Étnicas*, the eventual participation, through invitation of the President, of representatives of the *Juntas de Freguesia* or other entities or personalities that are carrying out projects inserted in the competencies of the council is possible. The *Conselho* is summoned by the President every three months, and the Department of Social Action of the CML gives technical and secretarial support to the *Conselho*. The duration of the mandate of the associations' representative members and the Municipal Assembly representative is three years. During the fieldwork, the member associations of the *Conselho* were the Associação dos Amigos da Mulher Angolana, Associação Caboverdeana, Associação Guineense de Solidaridade Social, Casa do Brasil, Casa de Moçambique, Comunidade de Refugiados de Timor, Obra Nacional para a Promoção e Pastoral dos Ciganos. During the first years of the *Conselho*, the Associação Cultural e Recreativa Angolana and the Associação Cultural e Recreativa Santomense were members, but no longer.

During the early years of existence of the *Conselho das Comunidades Imigrantes e das Minorias Étnicas*, there was more activity than during the main fieldwork period, because the elections in December 1997 and the following changes in local government and administration stopped its meetings. The *Vereadora* changed and its future was uncertain. However, it was interesting to listen to the experience of Ana Godinho, the secretary of the *Conselho* after her arrival in early 1995. That year was marked by the killing of Alcino Monteiro, a young person, by some fascists who went to the city centre looking for 'black people' on the Portuguese national day (the 10th of June):

“Quando eu entrei, se não me engano no Verão (de 1995), foi quando aconteceu a morte do Alcino Monteiro no Bairro Alto. Chegou logo alguma movimentação das associações mesmo, para além das pertencentes ao conselho também outras vieram e participaram e tudo isso, nós demos um apoio à família do Alcino Monteiro através do pagamento do advogado ... que ainda hoje continua a acompanhar o processo, de forma que possa representar a família. Pronto houve ali muitas movimentações nessa altura, houve uma manifestação em Lisboa com todos os partidos políticos e todas as facções, com a Câmara de Lisboa à frente, contra o racismo, contra a xenofobia, e foi quase o único exemplo de racismo e xenofobia em Lisboa. Pronto, pode haver algumas lutas entre grupos, por questões pequenas entre pessoas, e aí é também racismo e xenofobia, agora, isto é mais complicado porque conseguiu-se provar que era um grupo organizado que esteve num jantar, que era uma realmente uma facção da direita que tinha ideias um pouco estranhas, tinham um jantar, e ainda que vinham de distintas partes do país e juntaram-se em Lisboa e saíram do jantar e terminaram por ir ao Bairro Alto... E pronto deu origem a aquilo, que não foi só ele, foi muita gente que foi apanhada por aquele turbilhão de pessoas um pouco estranhas e que, pronto, o Alcino terminou, acabou por morrer nessa confusão toda, porque foi apanhado no meio.” (Ana Godinho)

Conselho das Comunidades Imigrantes e das Minorias Étnicas has been also involved in other activities, as for instance, supporting studies on the situation of immigrant and ethnic minority children at primary school, organising conferences and small local cultural festivals with associations.

However, the lack of activity of that advisory *Conselho* was not just due to electoral reasons, already in June 1997, half a year before local elections, the president of the Capeverdean association noted the need for a change in its way of working:

“Este Conselho, que tem um papel importante nos dois últimos anos, a tomada de posição em relação aos problemas,... propostas,... Neste momento estamos numa fase de viragem, por que alguns aspectos que devia haver na lei já estão. Agora é preciso a concretização disso, então estamos precisamente nisso e como é um órgão consultivo, enquanto se trata de fazer regras, fixar regras, as consultas funcionam, mas agora faz falta a concretização na prática. Portanto, é uma etapa nova o que falta a entrar, por isso é que posso dizer que as coisas não estão obsoletas, é agora uma etapa nova a que está a começar.” (Alcestina Tolentino)

On the other hand, in the opinion of the president of the Casa do Brasil de Lisboa, the usefulness of Advisory Councils depended on the strength of associations to push governments to implement changes:

“Los intereses de los agentes sociales son contradictorios y seran legitmos desde que estos agentes sociales o grupos sociales esten bien organizados en sus intereses comunes, o sea, un consejo puede ser a la vez un instrumento de integración, un instrumento de participación democrática, como puede ser un instrumento de amortiguación, de engaño, de un grupo sobre otro. El mismo instrumento tiene diferentes objetivos segun cual sea la perspectiva y gana el que sea más fuerte, gana el que sea más organizado, que sepa hacer, que tenga más bases, o más legitimidad, la legitimidad la dá una política y gente por detrás con conciencia. O sea, el instrumento en sí no es nada: el mismo *Conselho* de Imigrantes, o el Forum que funciona con plata de la Comunidad, puede ser un instrumento muy importante para los inmigrantes si detrás de él hay mucha fuerza que lo empuje, o entonces es un instrumento del poder para dar unas migajas. Y todo eso es la misma cosa, en la sociedad, la asamblea de la republica o el poder legislativo también tiene esta doble o multiple función, es un instrumento para amortiguar pero tambien puede ser un instrumento para realmente presionar y hacer leyes que interesen a los grupos mayoritarios, a los grupos legítimos: depende de la participación de la ciudadanía, que es lo difícil.” (Carlos Viana)¹³⁶

Concretely, in relation with the *Conselho das Comunidades Imigrantes e das Minorias Étnicas* of Lisbon, his assessment was positive, but he also notes that the weight of the ‘state interests’ and of the ‘state ideology’ are really difficult to overcome:

“La Casa do Brasil ha participado intensamente del Conselho de la Câmara de Lisboa, es un instrumento positivo, podria ser mejor, depende también de nuestra presión. Entiendo también que el estado, o sea la Câmara Municipal de Lisboa, tiene algunos intereses que les son propios, que no son exactamente la óptica de los inmigrantes, pero es natural, o sea, es una organización del estado tambien, tiene su ideologia, tiene su manera. Aunque los grupos políticos, los partidos, sean diferentes, el estado tiene su dinámica en cuanto organización de la sociedad. Entonces pienso que es una experiencia positiva, el compromiso democrático prevalece y no el compromiso del engaño.” (Carlos Viana)

Apart from the stagnancy of the *Conselho das Comunidades Imigrantes e das Minorias Étnicas*, another consequence of the December 1997 local elections was the creation of a special administrative body on ethnic minorities attached to the president of the CML, the Mayor João Soares (member of the *Partido Socialista*, and son of Mario Soares). The person in charge of this body is Inácio Matinshe, a Mozambiquean painter and friend of the Mayor, who shared the project with João Soares since the late 1980s. In fact, Matinshe was a candidate in his list for the local elections in 1989, but the accident of João Soares in Angola some months before the elections (he was a friend of Jonas Savimbi, UNITA’s leader) killed the project. However, some time later

¹³⁶ The two first interviews to Carlos Viana were done in Spanish (he spent some years in Argentina) and the third one was done in Portuguese.

João Soares became an MEP and he moved to Brussels, where Matinshe was also living then. It was there that his project of creating an Ethnic Minorities office in Lisbon city council took shape again. João Soares moved back to Lisbon to become responsible for Culture in the city government after 1993 with Jorge Sampaio as Mayor. When Jorge Sampaio was elected president of the Portuguese Republic in 1995, João Soares became Mayor, although Sampaio did not like Soares and tried to prevent this step into power. In December 1997 João Soares won elections as head of *Mais Lisboa* coalition, and Matinshe was in the list.

Some time later the Ethnic Minorities Office was created, with Matinshe as head, and with the technical support of DAGAI, an administrative body (Paula Nascimento, another key person interviewed, was involved in the DAGAI's technical support) . In February 1998 they organised a Multicultural Carnival in the city centre of Lisbon, in the Praça Martim Moniz. It was a Lusophone street carnival, with the participation of 'representative' groups from all the former Portuguese colonies and Portugal itself. It was the first time in Lisbon that several 'cultural' groups gathered together in a celebration, and some sectors opposed to the city government did not like it. A couple of months later there were accusations in a newspaper of supposed mismanagement of the Carnival funds directed to Matinshe. However, the project of the Ethnic Minority Office continued, although later its future became uncertain.

When the organisers were asked why in that multicultural carnival there were just immigrants' groups from former Portuguese colonies, the answers were linked precisely to the colonial links, their major presence in Lisbon and better organisation level:

“A razão é esta: Portugal tem sido uma potência colonial nesses países, então interessa que esses países não se sintam dispersos, não é? estando aqui em Portugal, estando aqui em Lisboa, por que Lisboa, o governo da cidade de Lisboa, a Câmara Municipal tem um interesse de juntar, congregar esses países em associações que vivem na cidade de Lisboa poderem desenvolver as suas actividades culturais dentro da cidade de Lisboa, a ideia é essa.” (Inácio Matinshe)

“Também é pelo simples facto de que são essas as pessoas que cá vivem, não é? se nós vir em termos de comunidades que vivem no município de Lisboa, as maiores comunidades são aquelas a que pertencem as ex-colónias portuguesas, vais ver que não há ce lá chineses, há, mas são de facto muito poucos, por tanto se vamos ver as grandes comunidades que existem em termos de colónias aqui são as das ex-colónias portuguesas, então temos em primeiro lugar a comunidade caboverdeana, que ocupa de facto uma grande percentagem, depois temos Angola, Guiné, por

tanto são essas as pessoas que cá vivem e são essas as quais nos vamos dirigir, não é?” (Paula Nascimento)

The other non-Portuguese speaking immigrants’ groups were not considered because they are seen as not well organised, although finally there was one local NGO where a diversity of immigrants were involved (Olho Vivo) who participated in the Carnival with a stall. In any case, the posters and all the Multicultural Carnival organisation was based on a division done according the post-colonial States (without any group based on regional, ‘ethnic’ or continental patterns):

“A razão é esta: é porque foi lá, Portugal foi uma potência colonial, como nunca houve em Lisboa um ajuntamento cultural como o que se tentou fazer agora, tinha havido espectáculos diversificados por países, nas discotecas, etc., etc., então o que nós quisemos fazer é juntar esses países, antigas colónias num invento único só, para mostrar que somos todos seres humanos, que cada um de nós tem a sua cultura, que essa cultura pode ser manifestada num único lugar, é o que se pretende fazer no Martim Moniz, é isso.” (Inácio Matinshe)

“Por outro lado, se a cultura, se vai mostrar a cultura de cada um dos países é normal que cada um o apresente individualmente, se calhar há cá uma questão que posso salientar que é em termos mas gerais e não estiveram ligados a nós no desfile e na apresentação mas deram todo o apoio por exemplo à associação Olho Vivo, que é uma associação que também tem uma vertente ligada, e por tanto eles também estiveram na parte dos kioskos, não sei reparou que tinham a parte da apresentação e depois tinha os kioskos que pretendiam também, a base era a mesma, mostrar a sua cultura, mas através de outros meios, a gastronomia, as artes plásticas,... e a associação Olho Vivo que era uma associação de âmbito mais geral, não tem a ver com um país em particular, contactou-nos, quis associar-se e associou-se.” (Paula Nascimento)

The lack of sensitivity to those ‘new foreign immigrants’ from non-Portuguese speaking countries is also recognised by Ana Godinho, secretary of the Advisory Council on Immigrants and Ethnic Minorities (the one created by Jorge Sampaio):

- Achas que há discriminação em relação aos imigrantes não-lusófonos?

“Acho que sim, por uma razão, nós, é uma questão de identidade, acho que nos identificamos mais com os imigrantes das nossas ex-colónias porque acabamos por ter, acabou por haver muita coisa em comum, não é? em termos culturais tudo isso, e os outros estão um pouco afastados, ... ainda não temos grupos de trabalho para trabalhar com outro tipo de imigração, não temos e não sei se estamos preparados para isso, é um pouco estranho, porque aí aparece uma diferenciação cultural bem marcante e também estamos a ser confrontados mesmo agora, é tudo muito recente em relação aos novos imigrantes, até te digo, até eu própria não, questiono muito como é que poderia ir a trabalhar, porque nunca fui confrontada sequer com o trabalho com uma imigração diferente, não é? está tudo a surgir, não sei realmente que é, pronto, neste momento estão a aumentar realmente cá em Portugal, em Lisboa, mas foi uma coisa muito recente, acho que os outros países, alguns dos outros países se confrontaram há mais tempo com este tipo de imigração, e nós não, estávamos muito se calhar acomodados aqui com os nossos imigrantes, a nossa imigração, era com estes que já sabíamos funcionar e estar, agora temos que voltar a criar algo de novo para estar com outros, não é? com outros tipos de imigração, não sei, vamos ver o que é que vai acontecer, mas sei que por exemplo esta vereadora quer tentar alargar o conselho, temos que analisar os estatutos para ver como é que isso podrá ser feito, e nessa altura não sei se entrará realmente, mas é tal coisa, isto tem a ver com a posição das associações e do movimento associativo para ver com a posição das associações e com o movimento associativo para participar

no conselho devem ter uma associação, e acho que este tipo de comunidades de imigrantes nem sequer tem, estão muito espalhados, ainda não estão organizados nem politicamente nem para poder formar uma associação,... este tipo de imigração ainda não chegou aí, isto é todo um processo, acho que é um processo um pouco lento” (Ana Godinho)

Again in Lisbon, as in Barcelona, differences between political perceptions were influential in the implementation of different immigration policies among diverse administrative bodies of the same city government. Although, of course, it is also true that there are common policies in the city government as a whole, as the lack of attention to non-Portuguese speaking immigrants reveals.

On the other hand, a recent example of collaboration between immigrant associations and local government has been for registration in the electoral census for the 1997 local elections. As it has been mentioned above, for the first time, in the local elections of December 1997 Brazilian and Cape-Verdean residents with more than two years of legal residence in Portugal had the right to vote. However, previously, they had to go to the *Juntas de Freguesia* to be registrated. In May 1997, the Casa do Brasil and the Associação Cabo-Verdiana, with funding and support from the *Câmara Municipal de Lisboa*, carried out an information campaign to divulge the process of registration through telephone calls, posters, leaflets, etc. distributed in bars and other meeting points of such communities. Nevertheless, the results of the campaign have been evaluated ineffective. According to Carlos Viana (Casa do Brasil's president), the reasons are diverse: the newness of the law, the short time available (a month), a low development of the spirit of citizenship among immigrants, the bureaucracy of the process (with at least two procedures needed). The budget for the information campaign has also been considered as low.

In relation to processes of mediation in conflictive situations between central and local governments and immigrant communities, the re-accommodation of communities of African origin can be mentioned. In the past the relocation of immigrants or 'ethnic communities' living in poor housing had been the product of earlier policies in the wider context of housing policy. Recently, the legal extension of the *Plan Especial de Realojamento (PER)*, the *PER-Familia*, represents an improvement because it tries to integrate the people already located in the urban fabric. However, for the main Cape Verdean association in Lisbon, an information deficit among the people affected and

among immigrant associations is predominant. Thus, this association suggested, among other things, the role of the associative movement as a mediator between local governments and people affected by the relocation.

After the approach to governmental policies and organisations, in the following chapter an analysis of the involvement of social organisations and movements in ‘foreign immigration’ issues in Barcelona (chapter 7) and Lisbon (chapter 8) is carried out.

7. Social organisations and movements, and ‘foreign immigration’ in Barcelona

“Hace veinte años vivías atrapado en el gris / otro tiempo, otro color...
El tiempo ha pasado, las cosas han cambiado, / quizás se respira mejor,
pero corremos delante de los mismos ...
Vivimos atrapados en azul,...
ellos me protegen de ti, de ellos quién me va a proteger...
De día uniformados, / de noche encapuchados
imparten la misma ley... / Seas rojo, negro o chino,
o si te pasas de listo, / aprenderás tu lección,
las cámaras nunca recogen / lo que pasa en la celda,
entre uno y otro furgón. / Y es que vivimos atrapados en azul...”
Ismael Serrano, 1997

As with all cities, Barcelona is a product of, amongst other factors, social processes (social and political struggles, for example) of the people who live there, including ‘foreign immigrants’. In this chapter the role of the latter will be studied in Barcelona, and the following chapter will be devoted to Lisbon. The aim is not to provide a snapshot of the current situation, but to approach the dynamics that took place in both cities during the last 25 years in relation to ‘foreign immigration’.

Although a more or less chronological style will be used in order to follow an academic understandable logic, linearity will be avoided because reality is not lineal: there are break-downs, small and big revolutions, ‘retro-movements’ and others. Furthermore, in the following pages two different paths will be followed, in relation to the topic studied). In both paths different integrations appear, with a variety of implications for the walkers. ‘Foreign immigrants’ are not a homogeneous group, classes really matter.

7.1. 'Invisible' immigration in Barcelona. The organisational side

The 'invisible' side of Barcelona, in this case, is virtual. In fact, it is often pretty visible, although at a first glance it may be misleadingly taken as other phenomena, such as tourism or business travel. However, a clear proof that many of the people who arrive in Barcelona (and Lisbon) from other European Union countries, from North America or from Japan are not tourists nor fleeting businessmen or businesswomen is the constitution (and existence for some decades) of associations, clubs or societies composed of these 'foreign immigrants'.

To understand the creation of some instances of such social organisations some historical antecedents and recent developments have to be taken into account, including some basic features of the 'capitalist class' social organisations in Catalonia. The term 'capitalist class' is a complex one, as it was noted in previous chapters. Furthermore, not all the associations composed by immigrants from enriched countries have the same orientations, nor are they static. In this sense, it is not always easy to identify such orientations, and indeed, sometimes ambiguity is the reason for their survival.

Thus a number of them are leisure-oriented, and these leisure organisations may be considered as being part of a complex associative fabric, as will be shown in the following pages. It does not necessarily mean that this kind of association is confronted with the other kind studied in the Section 7.2., but it means that there is little interrelation between the two.

As introduction, it has to be taken into account that, as Soledad Bengoechea (1990: 32) has indicated, the articulation process of the Catalan bourgeoisie in associations - for leisure, culture, economic, religious or political reasons - is a process that started several decades prior to the end of the nineteenth century. The ruling classes had been fostering these platforms and using them both as lobby groups and to demonstrate their presence in the public sphere.

One of the more effective ways of organisations that Catalan employers have used, at least since 1771¹³⁷, has been the constitution of company associations. As mentioned in Sub-section 5.4.2., during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, a significant part of the foreign immigrants arriving at Barcelona were originally from North European countries. Among them, it can be underlined here, was a French employer called Eloi Detouche, who was in charge of the steel employers' federation. He also became important in Fomento del Trabajo Nacional (the main employers' organisation in Catalonia) during hard times for employers' organisations, 1918-19, when the revolution was being successful in Russia, and another revolution was being tried in Germany, most of the unionised working class in Catalonia became unified in the CNT (after the Sants congress), and the Canadenca's strike took place. In such circumstances, the Catalan employers were divided and in a defensive position (although with the strong support of the Spanish government and the army). However, unity arrived soon after those events, in October 1919 the Second Congress of Employers took place in Barcelona where unity was achieved, thanks among others to Detocuhe (Bengoechea, 1990).

A few years later the oldest active 'foreign immigrants' association in Barcelona was officially constituted: on 5 January 1927, under the Primo de Rivera dictatorship, was celebrated the foundation assembly of the Club Escandinavo de Barcelona, created by Norwegian, Swedish, and Danish employers. According to its president in 1996, Anne-Lise Cloetta, during the initial times such club was very elitist, and the Spanish Civil War caused its closure. It re-started its activities in 1940 and until 1966 the Scandinavian club was located in Plaça Molina (in Sarrià-Sant Gervasi, the richest of Barcelona's *districtes*) and a family was in charge of its management (including the provision of food and drinks). During its initial 40 years the club was an instance of a first generation of upper-class immigrant association, typical of more classist times, before the enlargement of the 'middle classes'. But in 1966 the building was sold and

¹³⁷ In 1771 the Real Compañía de Hilados de Algodón del Principado de Cataluña was created, it was the first pillar where Fomento del Trabajo Nacional (FTN) was based. See FTN's *Memoria Anual 1996*.

demolished, and until 1981 the club did not have a permanent meeting place. During those years they held their functions in restaurants or other rented places.

In order to understand the associative fabric created by foreign employers, it is necessary to take into account the changes that occurred in Catalonia during the last decades. Thus, according to Carme Molinero and Pere Ysàs (1990), after the civil war and the triumph of Franco - which implied the restoration of the 'bourgeois order' and the destruction of all those social, political and cultural movements that had threatened it - the employers used three channels of organisation: a) the entrepreneurial structures of the vertical trade union¹³⁸; b) the sectorial business organisations, which had their own names, properties, and autonomous functioning, but which were integrated within the *Organización Sindical Española* (OSE) as if they were autonomous research centres; and c) those organisations completely outside the OSE, specifically the trade and industry chambers (*Cámaras de Comercio y Industria*). In other words, if it is true that the Francoist legislation banned any kind of corporative organisation with representative character outside the regime's 'trade unionism', the employers could use autonomous organisations within and outside the vertical unions.

Furthermore, the Franquist legal framework assumed the class struggle as something overcome and that the OSE had assigned the accomplishment of the 'Christian and Falangist brotherhood' between workers and employers. In this context, much of the usual employers' organisations functions became unnecessary and, consequently, the strategy of Fomento del Trabajo Nacional (FTN) was to be integrated in the OSE, keeping its identity and properties, but in a hibernation state. During Franco's government years, the Catalan employers were dedicated to production activities and economic policies, because the state already guaranteed their essential interests (Molinero and Ysàs, 1990).

Immediately after Franco's death in 1975, the re-unification of the employers' organisations was given considerable impetus. As Xavier Vidal-Folch (1990) notes, the

¹³⁸ The vertical trade union (*sindicato vertical*) was structured, on the one hand, in the 'economic sections', dedicated to employers, and, on the other hand, in the 'social sections', dedicated to workers. Employers could freely elect their representatives, but workers could hardly do so and always through trade unions liaison officers (later via company juries).

'new Foment' is composed, not without difficulties, by the directive members of the hibernated FTN, by employers from the Industrial Chamber which had been renewed and unified under the influence of Cercle d'Economia, and by those employers from the vertical union. After a transitional presidency, Carles Ferrer Salat was elected president in 1977, with Alfred Molinas as vice-president. This board brought together two main sectors of the Catalan entrepreneurship: a majority who originated in the industrialisation of the 1960s with a 'backward mentality', and a minoritarian sector 'ideologically ahead'. In October 1976 it had organised a public event of Foment's affirmation, in Barcelona's Congresses Palace, with the participation of 1,500 employers. Following this form of collective action, with the main aim of consolidating Foment before the workers' trade unions (which were then in an offensive position), on 28 November 1977 the employers' organisation realised a more massive public event in a sports pavillion (Palau Blaugrana) with a capacity of thousands of people. It was the starting point of the employers' offensive during the transition to democracy, before the trade unions that became as time went by more divided and disoriented.

The first big operation of the new FTN was to foster the constitution of a business structure on the Spanish scale, which was called Confederación Española de Organizaciones Empresariales (CEOE) in September 1977, and which was firstly presided over by Ferrer Salat (Molinas then was appointed president of FTN). In this way, the CEOE became the first Spanish lobby, starting a period of hyper-politisation of their activities, which were characterised by the following features (Vidal-Folch, 1990): a) a *de facto* functioning, often as a real right-wing party (in a period when the right-wing parties did not work); b) participating with the strength that gives unity in all collective negotiations and social pacts (they were the unique organisation to sign all the agreements, see section 7.2.); c) creating an employers' collective consciousness through affirmation events and propaganda campaigns¹³⁹; d) an open and verbally violent opposition both to the UCD and PSOE governments, which might have caused

¹³⁹ Before the 1980 Catalan Autonomic elections the employers organisations distributed leaflets with the following messages: 'soon we will have to decide what kind of society we want: Marxist or a free market one'. On the other hand, during the 1982 Spanish elections the employers organisations in Catalonia distributed 3,360,000 leaflets (e.g. one warned: 'Employer: abstention is voting social-communism'), sent 6,000 letters to teachers, 15,000 posters were stuck, 2,500 press dossiers and 380,000 magazines were printed, 39 regional directives meetings took place and 78 events around Catalonia gathered 12,400 employers (Vidal-Folch, 1990).

in trade unions the impression that even a bad agreement for workers with the government was a victory, in the face of the ultra-liberal positions of the employers.

In this context of reconstruction of the Catalan employers' organisations, a second wave of associations of 'foreign immigrants' composed by individuals from enriched countries appeared. In the early 1970s, still under Franco's regime, the arrival of several transnational companies to the Barcelona metropolitan area was behind the foundation of the Sociedad Suiza (also known as Club Suizo) and the American Society.

One of the characteristic features of the increasing world capitalist integration is the also increasing transnationalisation of companies, both at the production level and in the opening of new markets for their products. This transnationalisation goes hand in hand with a mobility of high-skilled workers and managers between the offices of big companies, geographical mobility that often is related to the development of the migrant's professional career (Pascual de Sans, 1991). It has to be noted that in relation to the mobility policy within some transnational companies can be observed an evolution between a first moment when the group activity was initiated - then a uni-directional movement of high-skilled persons from the country of origin of the company to the country where the branch was set up - and a second moment characterised by multi-directional movements of diverse socio-professional categories, often with training purposes (Mendoza, 1994).

Among this kind of staff and their partners arriving in Barcelona were those who, with others, created the aforementioned Swiss and North American association. Thus the Swiss society was founded in 1970, when a group of Swiss people, with common interests, acquired a property in carrer Homer (in Sarrià-Sant Gervasi, again in the richest *districte* of Barcelona) to convert it into a social place where, according to Carolina Berg, "todo extranjero de nacionalidad suiza se pueda integrar, para reunirse simplemente, para estar en el mismo círculo de gente, a lo mejor, cómo decírtelo, por añoranza hacia el país". The earlier years were the golden age of the society, "porque a nivel de tecnología, de evolución de países, de geografía y tal, antes la sociedad era

más concurrida por que el viajar a Suiza no era una cosa tan obvia como ahora". But in the early 1990s there was a crisis of participation:

"El hecho de coger un avión y estar en una hora en Suiza te facilita mucho volver a tus orígenes, entonces ahora la gente que viene aquí ya conoce su país, ya tiene su círculo de amigos allá, y entonces lo que quieren es integrarse en la sociedad española, que es lo normal, ¿no? entonces, hubo un momento en el que había menos gente que se interesaba por esto." (Carolina Berg)

However, more recently, there has been again a certain interest for this society among Swiss residents in Barcelona, due to 'ideological' changes among Swiss immigrants:

"Vuelve a haber un interés, porque vuelve a haber movimiento de gente que viene y va, entonces pues sí, si tu te has pasado toda tu vida en Suiza pues quieres un anexo a esto, ¿no? entonces es fluctuante, había bastante gente mayor, vuelve a haber bastante gente joven otra vez interesada, pero esto es un poco los vaivenes de la mentalidad de la gente, lo que busca, porque tampoco es una cosa que atraiga por un interés X, o sea, es verdaderamente algo un poco ideológico." (Carolina Berg)

Most of the 78 families that are members of the Swiss society belong, in Carolina Berg's terms, to the 'middle-high class', although every Swiss can be a member if he or she pays 17,000 pesetas per year (in 1997); such incomes allow the Swiss society to hire a porter. That figure almost doubles the family membership fee of the Scandinavian Club (9,000 pesetas in 1995). However, of the 78 families that pay a fee in the Swiss society, around 40 participate more or less regularly in the activities, and the board of directors is composed of 8 persons (president, secretary, treasurer, and five other members). These proportions are similar in the Scandinavian club and the American Society.

On the other hand, Cristóbal Mendoza (1994) also notes that women's role in the big companies transnationalisation process is often limited either to their employment as top secretaries or administrative workers or, to economic inactivity as partners of the mobilised staff member. In this context, some north American women in a joint effort with women from other countries have been grouped in the American and International Women's Club (AIWC), which has its headquarters based in Les Corts, the second richest Barcelona's district. This club is not the kind of organisation generally considered as 'feminist'. Instead, it is a leisure club shaped by the foreign female partners of foreign male top managers of big companies based in Barcelona¹⁴⁰. In a

¹⁴⁰ Neither in Barcelona nor in Lisbon I have found any similar group of male foreign inactive partners, like the existing in Brussels, where a significant number of women work in top management

sense, it is the formalisation in association of the informal home meetings that the economically inactive partners of the Japanese managers living in Barcelona also have:

“Es más bien la típica ama de casa, que su marido le ha enviado aquí a vivir en España y pues ella no tiene carrera, no está trabajando, entonces se apunta a estas reuniones y tal, porque tienen algo en común.” (Bryan Hare)

In this way, the special activities that were announced in the AIWC bulletin of September 1997 included a brunch in Bellaterra (with bathing in the swimming pool included); a meeting to exchange English books; a conference subtitled ‘Personality Through the Eyes’; a dinner to celebrate the return after holidays; a meeting of the association Council; a series of workshops organised by a psychologists called ‘Positive parenting’; an introductory course to arts history and a bridge tournament. Regular activities include conversation classes in English and Spanish, library loan, collective book comments, bridge games, bridge classes, ‘mah-jong’, ‘mothers and toddlers’ and meditation. The main profile of the AIWC member is thus a woman not incorporated in the labour market, although some of them were working as professionals.

Among all foreign communities resident in Barcelona, the Swiss community is probably the best organised. Schematically, its organisational structure is as follows:

- Sociedad Suiza: dedicated basically to leisure and social relations
- Asociación Hispano-Suiza: where Swiss companies based in Spain (and some Spanish companies operating in Switzerland) join together; it is used for trade aims, and is a kind of Swiss trade chamber
- Swiss school: dedicated to primary and secondary education, plus language courses and professional training
- Former alumni of the Swiss school association: among other services, it has an employment bureau
- Swiss charity association: aimed to support those Swiss citizens with socio-economic problems living abroad

jobs. That situation makes possible to their partners to move there, even if they do not get a job. Thus in Brussels they have created an informal group of foreign men who share a similar situation: they depend on the salary of their wives. See “The STUDS of Brussels”, *High Life*, November 1998, pp. 96-101.

- Consulate: in a sense, the coordination point, where all information is centralised and redistributed later among all the Swiss associative fabric in Barcelona and surroundings (usually there is a representative of the consulate in each one of the aforementioned associations), but most importantly it offers services to Swiss residents in general and to the associations that ask for them (e.g. legal advice in serious cases). Furthermore, it includes the Swiss Commercial Office.

Thus the conceptualisation of the state inspired by Gramsci as the addition of government plus institutionalised civil society can work even abroad.

Obviously, there are other trade chambers in Barcelona¹⁴¹ (including from Germany, Angola, Argentina, Belgium-Luxemburg, Brazil, Cameroon, Israel, the USA, Gambia, the United Kingdom, India, Italy, Languedoc-Rosselló (France), Morocco, Norway, Paraguay, Senegal, Sweden, Venezuela, and Chile¹⁴²), and there are other foreign schools or institutes in Barcelona (such as the German and Japanese school, and the British and Italian institutes). There are also good relationships between the American Society, the Scandinavian Club and the Japanese Association with their respective consulates. However, the Swiss have a more highly developed associative network. Furthermore, it is an exclusive associative fabric, so that in the case of the Sociedad Suiza only Swiss nationals can be members with voting rights in the assemblies; others can be 'friends of the society' and participate in some of their activities. This model is similar to the existing immigration policy in Switzerland, where as Patrick Ireland (1994) has noted, foreign immigrants rarely obtain Swiss nationality, a situation that includes also their children and grandchildren (it is probably the most extreme case in Europe).

By contrast, in the Scandinavian club there is a significant number of local members (and some from other origins), as well as in the American Society, where only 55-60 percent of the membership has a USA passport, the rest having mainly Spanish, British, Dutch and Canadian passports. The American Society was founded between

¹⁴¹ *Cámaras de Comercio, Industria y Navegación* were created in 1922, lasted during Franco's dictatorship, and after his death these chambers kept on having a significant role in the articulation of economic interests (Schmitter, 1999).

¹⁴² See <http://www.bcn.es/infopime>

1972 and 1974, although it was not legally registered until 1983 (Bryan Hare). As they explain in their Web page:

The American Society of Barcelona strives to be focal point for people who are interested in developing and maintaining business, professional, and social relationships with each other in an international environment. The society functions as a non-political and non-profit organization. The American Society of Barcelona was founded in 1974 by a group of American businessmen for the purpose of establishing social contacts among themselves in the Barcelona area. Since then the Society has grown and thrived due to the diversity of its members who are engaged in government, business, education, and other professions. (<http://www.eriksonwills.com/amersoc/>)

During the 1970s and the 1980s there was an important amount of north American companies that usually brought their managerial staff from the USA and thus they did not hire local managers. However, during recent years the situation has changed:

“Si tu ves a IBM o a otras empresas importantes norteamericanas, CPC por ejemplo, todos tienen ahora directivos españoles, todos, en este sentido el número de la comunidad americana ha caído en picado, en los últimos 10 años, entonces la gente, la sociedad, son gente que realmente se han implantado en Barcelona, que ahora viven aquí porque quieren vivir aquí, no porque les han enviado aquí.” (Bryan Hare)

This substitution of personnel from the north American headquarters by managers with Spanish nationality is a product of the process that combines ‘globalisation’ of markets and production with ‘localisation’ of the members of the staff. Such process is less common among Swiss and Japanese companies which are more attached to the nationality principle when they have to appoint managers abroad. This is due to two main reasons: the need of appointing people who are fluent in the languages used in the headquarters at home (German and French in the first case, Japanese in the second), and the specific technical training required. The two following interview fragments are illustrative of this:

“Yo creo que el movimiento de personas sigue estando, ¿que a partir de ahora les va a ser más difícil moverse? sí, porque con la comunidad económica va a haber una fluctuación a nivel europeo bastante grande, pero las multinacionales si necesitan a alguien de allá pues lo traen, porque a veces hay una serie de puestos que están formados desde Suiza, que se necesitan y que se van a seguir necesitando a nivel mundial, y que esas personas se van a seguir desplazando, a mayor o menor medida, sí, pero es que de una multinacional suiza en España hay muy pocos suizos, porque lo hacen con gente local. Incluso aquí, este banco es suizo, y hay 3 personas suizas, y somos un equipo de 10 personas, porque tu actividad la haces en el país...” (Carolina Berg)

“El coste de los japoneses enviado por Japón es muy caro, entonces no, no pueden ... por eso en esta época el número de empresas japonesas ha reducido el número de los japoneses, bueno el número de empleados españoles ha reducido también, pero el coste de los japoneses es más, es mucho más caro, entonces ha reducido los japoneses, y como consecuencia de esto el colegio japonés, el número de los alumnos ha bajado mucho, ... de momento tiene más o menos cien, antes, no lo sé, tenía como ciento cincuenta ... Creo que tenemos que hacer más localización,

como he dicho, el coste de los japoneses muy caro, además lo que podemos hacer los japoneses está limitado ... en varios sentidos, por ejemplo, buscando negocios, nosotros no conocemos los clientes, no conocemos el mercado, pero los españoles que estan aquí, conocen la gente, conocen muchas familias empresarias. Entonces, si nosotros japoneses siempre estamos controlando la empresa, yo creo que no podemos esperar tanto crecimiento, tenemos que dar más ... poderes a los españoles para que ellos puedan trabajar más agresivamente o más tranquilamente, esto es que se llama, ¿cómo se llama en castellano? localización, localización, y con eso podríamos reducir el numero de japoneses y podremos bajar los costes ...[Pero] hay problema de idioma, ... sede principal en Japón, la mayoría de gente no puede comunicar en otros idiomas, entonces si en la oficina de Barcelona estan españoles no pueden comunicarse, o sea Tokyo entiende inglés, pero peor que japonés, ¿no? entonces, un japonés es necesario aquí, pero ahora tenemos ... cuatro, pero, ¿porqué necesitamos tantos? ... Depende de empresa, por ejemplo Sony. Sony tiene aquí una fabrica bastante grande y ... los japoneses que estan aquí son ingenieros, pero administración sólo españoles, por eso esa empresa es muy buena.” (Anonymous Manager of Japanese company)

This double movement of market globalisation and (partial) staff localisation among the transnational companies is a response to new strategies, as for instance the one that is based on the assumption that to create ‘global brands’ it is necessary to take into account ‘local markets’, although without being trapped by localisms. The marketing magazine *Admap*¹⁴³ explains this in the following way:

This more complex and changing world means that there is need to take more of a consumer driven approach, to look at the global marketing region through the eyes of the people who live in it. This allows a view to be taken from the perspectives of the similarities which exist across regions (providing they exist), rather than being inhibited through inevitable differences. Transnational marketing does, after all, seek to drive brands in this way. This ‘bottom-up’ approach seeks to identify the nature of those similarities and, most importantly, to use differences to fine-tune locally. If we were to be driven by differences, it would be impossible to develop a truly global brand.

These processes may weaken the social basis of some of the ‘foreign immigrants’ associations, but it does not seem that they are going to disappear.

On the one hand, the American Society organises regular business meetings: ‘These meetings are normally luncheons with honoured guests who hold important and influential positions in politics, business, the diplomatic corps, or education’ (<http://www.eriksonwills.com/amersoc/>). Alternatively, the Japanese association contacted is a company association, not of persons or families. Instead, the American, Swiss and Scandinavian organisations include the families of those people incorporated in companies, but also other people outside the business sphere, which helps them to have a renewed influx of members. Also the changes that took place in the American Society during the 1990s are illustrative of the dynamism this kind of association has:

¹⁴³ *Admap*, No 363, June 1996, p.23.

when the presidency was in the hands of an English teacher (until 1994) the Americans who were working in education were a very important part of the organisation, but since 1994 a young businessman (married to a Catalan) has been in charge of the American Society and this fact has fostered the leisure interpersonal relations and the North American parties (Thanksgiving Day, Halloween, the 4th of July, happy hours), and been influential in the decrease of the English teachers' membership. The main aim of the new presidency was to address activities to those north Americans who decided to settle down in Barcelona, not to the transients, and to create social bonds between them. However, the activities that they organise are not accessible to all economies, there is a kind of economic selection exerted on who participates in the American Society activities, which explains the decrease in the number of English teachers:

“Con esta gente sí hay un aspecto importante, que montamos nosotros cenas y otras cosas, son cenas por 4.000, 5.000 pelas y muchos de los profesores no tienen pasta y entonces..., no lo hacemos expresamente, pero hay que montar cosas y [si] uno no puede acudir porque no quiere gastar dinero pues es su decisión, pero en principio, como te he dicho antes, nosotros nuestra intención es abrir puertas y no cerrarlas.” (Bryan Hare)

However, this intra-community and money-expending turn in the American Society's activities was not incompatible with the establishment of new business links and with the creation of a new kind of membership: the 'corporate member'. Companies which give economic support to the American Society can insert advertisements in the annual directory, in the Web page or in the events organised by the society.

The aforementioned intra-community relations aimed by the American Society already exist among the Japanese community in an informal way, which in Barcelona is a fairly isolated community. However, there is also the Japanese companies' association, which tries to open itself organising specific events at the personal level (a New Year's Eve dinner, summer festival in a hotel, softball tournaments) and at the business level (visits to 'local' companies). In fact, this association of Japanese companies is linked to Fomento del Trabajo Nacional (FTN), and is the only foreign companies' association in Barcelona to do so. The response from the Catalan employers' association FTN, as José Luis Salido indicates, is that there are no distinctions between foreign and local companies and foreigners participate in the representational bodies as much as any other member: “Cuando estan aquí ya no distinguimos si es extranjera o no es extranjera..

en todo caso lo único que mantenemos es contacto con otras patronales europeas para atender a las posibles necesidades de esos afiliados". However, among the 42 members of FTN's staff, there are no foreigners at all.

Today, FTN is a confederation composed by federations, which at the same time are composed by companies. There are no individual persons associated, but juridical entities, companies: "Aquí hay de todo, desde pequeñas empresas hasta grandes". José Luis Salido notes that the 85 percent of the companies based in Catalonia are FTN members. Referring to information on the 'transition' days, Schmitter (1999) notes that CEOE claimed to include 75 percent of the companies as members (it was confirmed by a survey of companies conducted by Robert Martínez and Rafael Pardo Avellaneda in the mid 1980s: just 25 percent of the small companies, 20 percent of the medium companies and 4 percent of the big companies were not members of an association or federation linked to CEOE). According to Salido, FTN's main way of funding is through membership fees, although they receive some income from renting a part of their building in the city centre (Via Laietana), and from the provision of services to companies.

However, FTN has never stopped being a lobby. The case of the foreigners' legislation passed during the 1980s and 1990s is an example of that. Via the CEOE, FTN always defended against central government and the EU the existence in Spain of a quota system, *cupos*, in order to have a determined number of foreign workers in Spain, in the framework of a European common policy. Furthermore, José Luis Salido insists on the legalist character of Foment: "aquí que se aplique la Ley de Extranjería como debe aplicarse, ni más ni menos lo que dice la ley".

According to this member of FTN's staff, responsible for labour relations and social affairs, they defend business interests, as this is included in article 6 of the Spanish Constitution. Usually, they direct their actions to two basic interlocutors: governments (mainly the central one) and trade unions, with whom they have to reach agreements. It is in this context, and with the antecedents of the Catalan and Spanish employers' organisations success as lobby groups, that the Spanish policy on foreign immigration can be understood as dominated by the employers' opinion. In the face of this, it is curious that the protest actions organised by immigrant workers' associations from

impoverished countries never have had as a target the employers' organisations, but governments.

José Luis Salido is clear when questioned about key moments of labour foreign immigration in Catalonia, according to FTN's perspective. On the one hand, he regards the previous moments of the Foreigners Law 7/1985: "ahí hubo un momento en que todos tuvimos muchas cosas que decir, incluso hubieron muchos contactos con partidos políticos, especialmente aquí en Catalunya, con algunas ONGs del entorno de CCOO i del PSUC. Teníamos que discutir algunos aspectos de lo que pasaba con determinados sectores de la inmigración". On the other hand, he also regards a time when the work permits were expiring and the employers wanted to keep on hiring foreign workers and then there were a lot of contacts with the *Dirección General de Trabajo* (Labour Affairs Office of the Spanish central government) to solve such problems. Finally, Salido considers that today immigration issues are not so much a matter of concern because EU nationals do not need work permits, a fact that had previously provoked a lot of problems.

In a similar way, in order to understand the expulsion policy for foreigners¹⁴⁴ it is necessary to take into account FTN's positions in favour of repatriations: "la política de repatriación es otra política que habría que acometer en serio, es decir, aquella persona que está en situación ilegal y que nosotros no podemos mantener hay que repatriarla".

The immigrants' expulsion policy is not FTN's only invention, but it is inserted in the framework of the repressive TREVI agreement (signed by the home office of the European countries) and the aforementioned Schengen convention, which have the support of the European employers' organisations.

In the case of the Barcelona province, for instance, between January and February 1996 (when PSOE was still in power) over 60 expulsions were executed in an ordinary

¹⁴⁴ It was initiated by the PSOE's central government and continued by the PP's government, in both cases backed by CiU.

way¹⁴⁵ (under the PP government the numbers are higher). It has to be pointed out that Spain is not a special case: foreigners' deportations in Europe have risen from around 30,000 in 1990 to 300,000 in 1996¹⁴⁶. In this sense, as far back as the early twentieth century, the geographer Elisée Reclus (1908) indicated that while there is a need for foreigners, because they are necessary for any branch of the economy, they are tolerated. However, according to Reclus, when foreigners are not considered as necessary any more, they are refused, persecuted and even expelled or killed.

Parallel to Foment's support of the expulsion of *dedocumented* immigrants, the largest employers' organisation in Catalonia is willing to attract other kinds of foreigners. As mentioned above, for instance, the incorporation of a Japanese companies' association in Foment is a very positive point for the employers' organisation, as it is a good chance for business exchange. This Japanese association is composed of around 50 or 60 companies¹⁴⁷ and those who participate are presidents and managers of such companies, thus the main interests are business-related:

"Falta relación personal con los españoles, o sea los japoneses viven sólo dentro de los japoneses, y esta tendencia creo que está todavía bastante fuerte, pero si vivimos en otro país, yo creo que lógicamente tenemos que tener más relaciones con las personas de ese país, es importante para si mismo y también para desarrollar las relaciones entre los países; pero, concretamente, ¿qué hay que hacer para tener más comunicaciones con los españoles? no tengo idea clara ... la asociación de empresas japonesas estan intentando hacer algo, por ejemplo organizan algunas visitas a las empresas españolas, o sea, hacen una pequeña excursión, y visitan varias empresas españolas, o visitan las fabricas de empresas españolas, uno para conocer, otro para buscar las cosas que pueden comprar o para vender. O sea, las empresas japonesas, los ejecutivos, no conocen bien las actividades de las empresas españolas, por eso la asociación organiza esas visitas, esas entrevistas o pequeñas excursiones fuera de ciudad, para conocer, son para ver la realidad o la situación de las empresas locales" (Manager of a Japanese company)

One of the main difficulties for communication between Japanese residents and 'local' people is the language, but this is not such a big problem for anglophone communities. Language is also a key issue for the Scandinavian club, but in another sense, they organise Scandinavian languages courses for Scandinavian immigrants' children and Spanish people (funded by some consulates). Club Escandinavo did not disappear after losing its headquarters in 1966, but suffered a period of transformations that made it another kind of association quite different from that elitist club based in Sarrià-Sant

¹⁴⁵ Unpublished data provided by the *Gobierno Civil de Barcelona*, summer 1996.

¹⁴⁶ *The Independent*, 30-1-1997.

¹⁴⁷ During the late 1980s the number of Japanese companies in Catalonia was higher, but a significant number of them were relocated, although recently new ones have arrived, as Ricco and Kaho.

Gervasi. Thus, after having another headquarters from 1981 till 1984 (thanks to the generosity of a Dane who later needed it), they finally in 1988 decided to rent a place because “evidentemente las actividades bajan muchísimo sin local” (Anne-Lise Cloetta). It is situated in the Eixample, opposite to the Sant Antoni market place and, as the president of the club notes, another approach was necessary: “tuvimos muy claro que teníamos que organizar actos culturales, que sólomente viniera [gente] porque sí cuesta”. This was due to the changes taking place in the Scandinavian lifestyles and in Catalan society in general. Today the club is open to any person from the five Nordic countries (the two Scandinavian, plus Denmark, Finland, and Iceland) or any resident in Catalonia interested in these countries. Thus, if we take the same perspective that is often used to analyse African or Asian immigrants’ associations, the Scandinavian club may be considered as ‘multi-ethnic’ (as is the Swiss club). In any case, it has to be noted that most of the Nordic residents arrive in Barcelona with a job arranged in the country of origin, they are highly skilled workers or managers, although some of them arrive in Barcelona in order to study in business schools such as the IESE or to look for a job. Thus the profile of the club member is a economically wealthy person, and it allows a self-funding of the club activities via membership fees and fund-raising cultural and gastronomic events.

The Scandinavian club can be considered an exceptional case, as it was created as an elitist club early in the twentieth century and it evolved to become a more or less ‘typical’ 1990s association which offers services to its members, currently around 250 families. This shift to being a services association was produced in parallel to other changes among Barcelona’s transformations under neoliberal times. Thus FTN, as part of its characteristic activities as an institutional representative and lobby group, opened a relatively wide range of services to companies during the 1980s and 1990s:

- A documentation service and library; periodical publications (*Fomento del Trabajo Nacional-Horizonte Empresarial* and *Noticias*) and monographs
- Training in specialised centres, distance learning, and at companies
- Legal advice: in 1996 the most consulted issues were urban rents, ecological crimes, civil responsibility, conversions from anonymous societies into limited responsibility societies, and statutes.

This service-oriented activity has been also characteristic of other smaller Catalan employers' organisations, which have not forgotten the mobilisation side. Among them, SEFES can be underlined. It was born in 1976 and initially its area of activities was the Baix Llobregat (a Barcelona's metropolitan 'comarca'). But in 1987, after its expulsion from FTN, SEFES' statute recognises that Catalonia as a whole is its operational area. Another significant employers organisation is PIMEC, orientated to the small and medium companies¹⁴⁸. These employers' organisations, closer to the political coalition CiU (in power in Catalonia since 1980), were the main characters in a small employers' massive demonstration that took place in Barcelona's Plaça Sant Jaume against the implementation of a tax on economic activities (*Impuesto de Actividades Económicas, IAE*). In this way, combining services provision and a reinforcement of collective employers' action, SEFES also underlines in an informative package that one of its seven best actions was its reaction to the 1994 general workers' strike: "Sefes posa tots els mitjans per aconseguir que les Empreses no es vegin afectades per l'acció dels piquets, amb fil directe amb el Departament de Governació i el Govern Civil"¹⁴⁹. On the other hand, in another recent document, SEFES lists the diverse international services available in three main areas: market research for exports; research for commercial, technological or financial partners; and assistance to companies' exports departments.

In July 1997, after four years trying to arrive at an agreement, there was a merger between SEFES and PIMEC¹⁵⁰, although a few months later there was a crisis due to a lack of real 'integration' between them¹⁵¹ (political divisions along the two political parties in the Catalan government coalition, CDC and UDC, were influential). However, those were ephemeral disputes: during the following months a real unity between PIMEC and SEFES was obtained. The next step is currently the fusion of PIMEC-SEFES with the traditional FTN in order to create a macro-organisation of

¹⁴⁸ Also CECOT (Confederación Empresarial Comarcal de Terrassa) is worthwhile mentioning here.

¹⁴⁹ See *Sefes. El futur de la Petita i la Mitjana Empresa*.

¹⁵⁰ In those moments, even there were voices asking for the fusion with FTN. See *El País*, 10-7-1997.

¹⁵¹ Joaquim Campañá, who resigned as PIMEC vice-president, defended the following position: "a las personas que proceden de Pimec se las trata como profesionales de tercera división. En realidad no se ha producido la integración entre ambas entidades y se ha perdido la oportunidad" *La Vanguardia*, 15-2-1998.

small companies. Formal conversations to reach that aim are projected for next autumn, but informal negotiations between Joan Rosell (president of Foment del Treball Nacional, FTN) and Josep González (president of PIMEC-SEFES) have taken place lately on several occasions¹⁵². In fact, in June 1999 it seemed that an agreement was going to be obtained between both employers' confederations, but some territorial organisations of FTN wanted to develop some aspects, and then the public announcement of fusion was postponed. Some differences still exist on the details of such integration: PIMEC-SEFES wanted to be treated as equal to FTN in the distribution of power of the new employers' macro-organisation, but some FTN members complained that their confederation is bigger than PIMEC-SEFES and it would not be fair to consider them as equal to FTN. In any case, both employers' confederations will keep their identity within the new macro-organisation that would include around 150,000 small companies (in the European Union terminology small companies are those that produce less than seven million euros a year or have less than 50 workers, however it seems that some companies that would integrate with the new organisation would be larger). Regarding foreign companies or foreign staff, both small employers' organisations do not pay special attention to them, nor do they have foreign persons among their staff, or links with associations of 'foreign immigrants' based in Barcelona.

A classification of 'foreign immigrants' associations in Barcelona according to large regions of origin - but separating the Japanese association from the other Asians and the North American and Western European - seems appropriate. Although there are several differences, the Scandinavian club, the Swiss society, the American society, the Japanese companies association and the American and International Women's club have enough features in common to be grouped together. However, is that true for all the associations mostly composed by persons from such geographical areas? On the one hand, the interview of Maria Oliveira, the president of the Portuguese association O Lusitano, in Barcelona, and, on the other, the labour struggles of some English teachers (mostly North American, British and Irish) working in precarious conditions in private schools and institutes, suggest a negative answer. In other words, there are

¹⁵² see *El País Catalunya*, 7-7-1999.

also North American and European residents organised along working-class interests. Furthermore, the interview of Suresh Wadhmal Raisinghan, a member of the Indian association, also put into doubt the universal usefulness of the division between immigrant associations from impoverished and enriched countries, because it shows that there are also associations of wealthy immigrants from impoverished countries (such as India). The characteristics of the Indian association suggest it is closer to the North European and North American associations than to most of the Asian ones. Thus, in this case, class affinities prevail over ethnic differences in relation to organisation.

In the case of O Lusitano, contacted thanks to an associations list that located it in the wealthy neighbourhood of Pedralbes (Les Corts), it happened to be a Portuguese association created in 1987 that was at the time of the interview (1996) in a deep crisis (from being 100-150 members they became just a few dozen). Its president, married to a Spanish citizen was living in Pedralbes, but that was not indicative of the reality of most Portuguese people in Barcelona region who are working-class residents:

“Nos pusimos a mirar un local ... pero no se juntarian, porque ¿sabes lo que pasa aquí? los portugueses estan muy *fora*, esta parte de Terrassa, de Manresa, en Manresa hay bastantes, y en Rubí *também* ... aunque tuvieses tu local, tuvieses tus cosas de Portugal sí, pero tambien tienes que mirar el dinero, y normalmente pues toda la gente que está aquí es gente trabajadora, no es gente rica, porque yo creo que cualquier portugués o cualquier emigrante que esté en otro país, no está rico, ¿no te parece?, porque si son ricos ya no salen de su país, porque *nós*, por ejemplo, aquí no hay *industriais*, o sea, gente industrial no teníamos, gente de dinero portugueses no tenemos, no te digo que no lo haya, pero aquí, *na nostra* asociación no los tenemos, porque esa gente ya no viene, ya no quieren.” (Maria Amélia Nunes de Oliveira)

This words are illustrative of how geographical and economic features complicate the consolidation of an association because difficulties in the acquisition of their own meeting place. Furthermore, this Portuguese association, during the years when they were more active, participated in the *Festa de la Diversitat* organised by SOS Racisme, becoming the unique immigrant association from a Western European or North American country (there was nobody from Japan). But its participation was only possible during the first three festivals (1993-1995), because later the association suffered a deep crisis. O Lusitano was never involved in socio-political activities, and considered themselves always a socio-cultural association.

Instead, interestingly enough, the Indian association, like most of the associations from Northern European countries, has not participated in any *Festa de la Diversitat*, nor has had economic problems in carrying out its socio-cultural activities with voluntary donations¹⁵³. The Indian association was also created in 1987 and it is composed of 150 members, mainly from the Sindhi community. They do not organise political activities nor provide services to their members. This association has its headquarters in the Eixample and a significant number of its members are small entrepreneurs and businessmen, significantly different to most of the other immigrant associations from impoverished countries. The Indian association, as in the American Society or the Swiss club, is dedicated mainly to organising cultural events related with the country of origin in order to keep the community alive, and sometimes 'local' people also participate (friends or partners of members).

In summary, there are some features that are common to almost all the aforementioned associations in Barcelona, except O Lusitano but including a Indian association and a Ecuadorian association: a) they were created mostly due to 'cultural' interests (to 'keep' the culture/s of the country or region of origin); b) they did not need subsidies from public authorities¹⁵⁴; c) all these associations are ruled by a reduced executive (in some cases with *ad hoc* working commissions); d) they do not have regular links with social organisations such as NGOs, trade unions or neighbourhood associations¹⁵⁵; e) the services these associations provide are mainly cultural or for leisure; f) they locate their headquarters or meeting places in Sarrià-Sant Gervasi, Les Corts and l'Eixample, in other words, in middle and upper class districts of Barcelona. Thus, the main divide is not between countries, but between classes. Although most members of associations composed by immigrants from enriched countries enjoy an economic and legal privileged situation, there are also a few associations composed by immigrants from impoverished countries that share that situation (e.g. Indian association). Furthermore,

¹⁵³ Some time ago they had membership fees, but later they decided to do fund-raising events and ask the members for voluntary collaborations.

¹⁵⁴ The exception is O Lusitano, that tried did ask unsuccessfully for subventions, and just obtained a small budget from the Portuguese government, but never from the local, Catalan or Spanish governments.

¹⁵⁵ Again, with the exception of O Lusitano which had contacts during the celebration of the *Festa de la Diversitat*.

an association composed by immigrants from a (semi)enriched country like Portugal was closer to the characteristics of associations composed by members of impoverished countries.

In this sense, in relation to the residence patterns of foreign immigrants from enriched countries or enriched social strata from impoverished countries, it can be illustrative to add an advertisement published by a private housing agency in the English-language magazine *Barcelona Metropolitan*¹⁵⁶ which confirms that these kinds of people live where local 'middle and high classes' reside:

Q. Most of your clients are foreigners. Why is that?

A. We had noticed, that this sector of clients (multinational directors, banks, and diplomats) were unable to find the high level of service they needed in renting and buying properties. We realised that we could fill this market gap and put all our energy into that direction. It worked because we created a team that could communicate in many different languages, including Catalan, English, German, French, Italian, Dutch and, of course, Castilian. In Monika Rüsç S.L. expatriates of all nationalities are able to forget about language problems and concentrate on finding the property they're looking for.

Q. Which areas do your clients tend to prefer?

A. The main priority of many is to find a home near their children's schools. The most requested are Pedralbes, Sarrià, Tres Torres and Bonanova, San Juste, Ciudad Diagonal and the towns outside Barcelona such as San Cugat, Castelldefels, Sitges and the Maresme.

The social organisations created by immigrants from enriched countries that have been mentioned above are not the only ones existing in Barcelona city. It is also possible to find the Cercle des Français de Barcelona or the Barcelona Cricket Club. And if the area studied is wider and includes all the metropolitan region, it is necessary to take into account the Circulo Hispano-Belga (in Castelldefels) or De Nederlandse Vereniging Barcelona (in Sitges). On the other hand, in a similar position to O Lusitano, it is possible to locate the Catalan Irish Association (Barberà del Vallès).

The variety of these associations is wide. But the socio-economically privileged position of most of its members gives them, in general, another point in common: they are meeting points where it is possible to have diverse exchanges (information, etc.). In the case of those who work for transnational companies, this kind of association may be a key place to combine enjoyment with improving international business relations.

¹⁵⁶ *Barcelona Metropolitan*, n. 23, Septembre 1998.

These are complex intra and inter-associative¹⁵⁷ processes that require more specific research to understand their particular practices.

¹⁵⁷ In the inter-associative terrain, it is relevant to mention the sports tournaments between the British, Swiss, and American societies in Barcelona, and the public cocktails and meals offered by each one in the national days or other special occasions.

7.2. 'Visible' immigration in Barcelona. The organisational side

"Welcome everywhere you come from
You'll lose your life or find home here
Cause some do it right some do it wrong
Some are talking wise some they're running their tongue
Lot of soul in my block / from St. Pau to the Dock
Are you ready to be hurt and shocked?
Barrio Chino never fails to rock
Los indios de Barcelona
Son más indios que los de Arizona"
Mano Negra, 1988

The end of Franco's dictatorship can be considered as a symbolic starting point for some dynamics and the end of others. An understanding of Barcelona's associative background is necessary to understand the place where most 'foreign immigrants' coming originally from impoverished countries landed. Thus it is necessary to glance at the past, at least to the last years of Franquism, when the polity where immigrants arrived (coming from near or far countries) starts being drawn up. The creation of new 'foreign immigrants' associations of and for these communities is influenced by the developments and origins which have brought about the current situation. This was approached elsewhere¹⁵⁸ on the basis of several author (Bier, 1980; Balfour, 1989; Huertas, Andreu, 1996). Here, it is relevant to note that the movement against dictatorship was composed mainly by two kind of organisations: trade unions (mainly Comisiones Obreras, CCOO) and neighbours' associations¹⁵⁹.

¹⁵⁸ Concretely, in my MPhil thesis I contextualised such dynamics.

¹⁵⁹ Josep Maria Huertas and Marc Andreu (1996) have compiled 18 kinds of actions normally employed by the early 1970s neighbourhood movement: collection of signatures, organisation of neighbourhood assemblies, exhibitions, hanging up posters and banners, occupation of public buildings, protesting for sport activities, promoting street performances and leisure activities, setting up human barriers, protesting with civil disobedience, negotiating with government, denouncing the press, creating symbolic inaugurations of desired facilities and infrastructures, decorating walls with communal paintings, demonstrating in St. Jaume Square, promoting bizarre contests (such as a rat hunt to protest against poor health and hygiene conditions, demonstrating in the streets, kidnapping buses to claim the creation of new bus lanes and, finally, submitting alternatives to the administration proposals.

7.2.1 Foreign immigration and trade unionism in the 1970s

As previously mentioned, during the 1960s and early 1970s, a small number of Equatorial Guinean and Moroccan immigrants arrived in Barcelona to study and/or to work (Sepa Bonada, 1993; Colectivo Ioé, 1994). Thus their arrival coincided with the growing protest against Franco. With the legalisation of free trade unions in 1977 some of these immigrants managed to join those organisations. Thus a group of Moroccan members of CCOO, after some time of organisational training, created in 1980, the ephemeral Moroccan Emigrants' Association in Catalonia (AEMC) in the same headquarters that CCOO had in carrer Hospital (in Raval neighbourhood):

La idea de crear l'associació ve de temps, de fa mesos - explica un representant. Al principi intentàvem solucionar els problemes dels immigrants marroquins a través del sindicat de CCOO, però la situació que atravesava la immigració a nivell de tot l'estat espanyol i especialment a Catalunya, ens obligà a cercar altres formes d'organització pròpies, encara que amb el suport legal de CCOO, per a solucionar els nostres problemes. Aquest era el nostre objectiu. El projecte el vam anar configurant poc a poc. La por que vam tenir de no poder actuar, tenint en compte la conjuntura político-social del moment, ens obligà a retardar la seva posta en funcionament. Després de dialogar, de parlar, de discutir-ho amb la gent, els treballadors més capacitats decidirem dur-lo a terme, donant així el primer pas. (Roca, Roger and Arranz, 1983: 130-131)

In 1977, a few years before the creation of AEMC, the Arabic-Spanish cultural association 'Bayt Al Thaqafa' already existed. It was formed by a group of young Arabian immigrants and local Barcelonan people. They began to run a Cultural Centre in a place offered by the Catholic community of Sta. Maria del Mar church. In this centre different people with Moroccan origin and from other Arabian countries had the chance to meet each other in their spare time to perform cultural activities and give lessons in Arabian and Spanish. This centre registered itself as the Spanish Association of Friendship with the Arabian People 'Bayt Al Thaqafa' and over time they have been extending activities and services. The flat that this association has in Barcelona (there is another one in St. Vicenç dels Horts) is currently placed in carrer Princesa, in Ciutat Vella district. This centre can be considered as the first NGO exclusively dedicated to foreign immigrants in Barcelona. Since the early 1970s Caritas had already been helping impoverished foreign immigrants who knocked on its doors, but Bayt Al-

Thaqafa was original because it was created to attend to a specific group of people: Muslim and Arabic immigrants¹⁶⁰.

On the other hand, during the dictatorship a large amount of trade unions from all over the world gave their support to the anti-franquist struggle. As a response to that, once free trade unions were legalised in Spain in 1977 (which happened a short time after the arrival of thousands of political refugees from Latin-American countries and a bit before the arrival of refugees from Asian countries, such as Lebanon or Iran), CCOO became the 'umbrella' for many solidarity committees which grouped 'foreign immigrants' with diverse origins.

These committees were formed in solidarity with the struggles in countries which had become dictatorships (Argentina, Chile, Uruguay¹⁶¹), where Civil War had exploded (as in Lebanon) or where repression against the left wing in general had become stronger (as happened in Iran, where several years after the fall of the Shah of Persia, the later revolutionary process entailed communists being beaten by Islamists thanks to Western support to the latter¹⁶²). Some of these committees over the years became immigrant associations¹⁶³.

This is the case of Casa del Uruguay - Asociación de Amigos del Uruguay (Uruguay House-Friends of Uruguay Association), which was founded officially in 1978 (although it existed as an active Uruguayan group for some years before) and it had its most active period during the struggle against military dictatorship (1974-1984). Afterwards its aims have become promotion of Uruguayan culture in Catalonia

¹⁶⁰ Bayt Al Thaqafa has followed the NGOs services model that had been developed in other countries. It has received funding mainly from the central government, but also from Generalitat de Catalunya and local governments, in order to manage its activities and services. In this way, when it was possible to recruit people enrolled in the social service (PSS) that substituted military service, 10 young men joined the association. In 1996, apart from them, Bayt Al Thaqafa had 55 members, both Moroccans and Catalans, most of them with university degrees, both men and women. Since December 1995 immigrants from Algeria and Pakistan were using services, but were not members yet.

¹⁶¹ In these three countries the left-wing movements, after years gaining positions or reached the power, as in Chile, "successive" military coups with the US government and capital support initiated years of repression which included thousands of people murdered or missing.

¹⁶² All members of the Iranian Communist Party central committee were arrested, and thousands of Communist militants were imprisoned and killed. In relation to French, German and other Western countries support to Islamists, TV images of Allatolah Jomeini's arrival at Teheran airport in an *Air France* plane are illustrative.

¹⁶³ Andreu Domingo et alii (1995) noted this transformation of internationalist solidarity committees in immigrants associations in the cases of Latinamerican countries.

(participating in festivals, production of a magazine, organising theatre plays¹⁶⁴, and other cultural events) and favouring co-operation projects with Uruguay, mainly in education (collection of books, child-care support). However, in the interview they underlined that these were not charity activities, but instead they wanted to promote that people become the motor for their own projects in Uruguay.

In any case, the fact that Casa del Uruguay came to develop cultural activities after the dictatorship was not a handicap for the recent creation in Barcelona of the 'Commissió de Apoyo a la Campaña por los Desaparecidos de Uruguay', in order to claim again those missing people during dictatorships in Argentina, Chile, Paraguay and Uruguay during the 1970s. The 'Plataforma Argentina contra la Impunidad' (formed by the Casa Retruco, CLACA, COSOFAM, HIJOS and other independents), which organised a symposium in the Lawyers' Council in October 1997, was created in a similar way to the joint-action organised by the Chilean Associació de Suport a les Organitzacions Populars Xilenes (ASOPXI) and Asociación Comunidad Latinoamericana en Catalunya (ACLC), which took the form of a conference on human rights in Chile, in November 1997.

The structure of Casa del Uruguay contrasts with other associations because it promoted the role of the 'activists' (the ones who move the activity) *versus* the role of the 'functionaries', with the following method: any member can suggest an activity in open meetings twice a week, but with the compromise of being the motor of its realisation, although once it has been approved such person also has the collaboration of other members¹⁶⁵.

In 1996 there were around twenty active members and more than 200 members paying fees, with which they obtained 99 percent of the budget of Uruguay House, because they only received 100,000 pesetas per year from Barcelona City Council. A significant amount of this budget went to maintenance of their headquarters which was shared with CLACA (it is located in l'Eixample, near Plaça Universitat).

¹⁶⁴ As an instance, in 10 November 1995 Casa de Uruguay organised the visit to Barcelona of the theater company Teatro Circular de Montevideo (directed by Rubén Yañez) with the play "El patio de atrás" de Carlos Gorostiza.

¹⁶⁵ See issue 1, 1995, 3rd age, of *Nexo*, the magazine of Casa del Uruguay in Barcelona.

On the other hand, the Asociación Amigos del Brasil, differs from the general characteristics of most Latin-American associations created during the 1970s in Barcelona. This Brazilian association was created, in 1974, still under franquism, by a group of Brazilian and Spanish people *saudosos do Brasil* with the aim of promoting Brazilian culture and folklore. Their participation in 'diversity festivals' during the 1990s, together with a wide range of immigrant associations and trade unions suggested that there was a link with all these organisations, but the interview conducted denied such a hypothesis. More concretely, from the words of one of the representatives of the association, it is possible to affirm that they had more points in common with some associations of immigrants from enriched countries (see section 7.1.):

“Bueno, las circunstancias no fueron fáciles, porque claro, en principio se gestionó una junta gestora, un grupo, nació de ese grupo esa idea, debido a la creciente colonia brasileña que se incrementaba en Barcelona y viendo la necesidad de alguna manera de matar esa ‘saudade’, que es esa nostalgia. Entonces se creó una junta gestora que en principio tuvo que ver a otras asociaciones, como promover el fundar otra asociación, tuvo que ir al Gobierno Civil, porque naturalmente se tenía que crear unos estatutos, y lógicamente que fueran aprobados. En aquella época, por supuesto, no podía haber ninguna motivación política, como no la hay ahora tampoco, y sobretodo esos objetivos, que fueron de matiz cultural y recreativo, como son así los objetivos de la asociación,... y se fundaron, se crearon entre esa junta gestora, se promovieron esos estatutos, se aprobó, se hizo una asamblea, se aprobó. Dado ya el permiso del Gobierno Civil, a partir de ahí se constituye ya la asociación, se busca un local, que es este local actual, de la calle Matanzas 17, y se hicieron una serie de... arreglos convenientes, para promover todas estas actividades y apartir de ahí, pues se instaura lo que es dentro de los estatutos el régimen de socios, el régimen presidencial de junta, hay una junta directiva con un presidente, actualmente tenemos una presidenta renovable cada dos años, y la participación de todos los socios con una serie de departamentos, y funciona de esta manera: los socios pagan una cuota, no tenemos ayuda, ni de consulado, ni del gobierno, simplemente se mantiene con las cuotas del socio y alguna actividad que se hace y nada más.” (Sílvia Esteban)

In this way, it is apparently clear that this Brazilian association has little in common with Casa de Uruguay or l'Associació Catalunya-Liban, while it has many similarities with the Swiss Society, American Society or Scandinavian Club. Furthermore, the following paragraph, where the interviewee answers a question about suggestions for improving the situation of the Brazilian immigrants in Barcelona, may also illustrate the distinction between two waves of Brazilian immigration and two different social classes among Brazilians in Barcelona:

“Quizás a través del consulado, que se creara quizás una situación más de tipo sindical para que se conociera la problemática económica, la problemática laboral, que se diera a conocer como está el campo del trabajo, como está el campo de la vivienda, pero quizás esto tendría que ser otro tipo ya de asociación, porque en el aspecto social, en el ámbito ya familiar, pues la asociación Amigos del Brasil responde a ello muy bien, pero quizás sería pues una labor más del consulado o de los

proprios sectores de inmigrantes nuevos que llegan a Barcelona, de tipo más sindical o otra faceta que no nos corresponde a nosotros.” (Sílvia Esteban)

However, a Brazilian association struggling for the improvement of the situation of Brazilian newcomers has never been consolidated, although there have been groups more actively involved in political issues¹⁶⁶. On the other hand, similarities can be found between some Latin American associations created as internationalist solidarity committees and the Associació Catalunya-Líban, which was created from the work performed between 1979-1980 by a group of mainly Lebanese people who legalised a solidarity committee in 1982:

“En principio era como colectivo de solidaridad, cuando estaba la guerra civil en el Líbano, trabajabamos con ayuda de emergencia, ayuda de emergencia al Líbano: medicamentos, ropa, alimentación, cosas así; y apartir del 91, cuando terminó la guerra civil, ya trabajamos más en temas de cooperación con proyectos y temas culturales, temas de inmigración...” (Ghassan Saliba Zeghondi)

More concretely, Associació Catalunya-Líban co-operative activities have consisted of sending medicines, clothes and food through an NGO active all over Lebanon called Popular Lebanese Help. Associació Catalunya-Líban have received more funding from the public administrations than Casa del Uruguay (they have obtained money from the Generalitat de Catalunya, and Fons Català per al Desenvolupament) which has enhanced the funding of medical equipment, a women's studies school, a medical studies school, the rehabilitation of a primary school for disabled children, as well as the construction of a hospital (the later with support from Manos Unidas and the European Union).

Other aspects of the activities of the Associació Catalunya-Líban are campaigns in order to free arrested Lebanese people from Israeli prisons. Furthermore, the management of the Centre d'Estudis sobre el Món Àrab and the organisation of an introductory course to Arabic culture are also in their record (both with funding from Barcelona City government). And, last but not least, solidarity activities with Lebanese and Arabic immigrants living in Catalonia (focusing on document procedures, NGOs, institutions and trade union collaborations for improving the situation of immigrants)

¹⁶⁶ This is the case of the Núcleo do Partido dos Trabalhadores (PT) that in May 1995 published an informative bulletin that had as contact address Sodepau address. Their orientation was to Brazilian politics, for instance they organised a conference with Flávio Benites, juridical advisor of Sindicato de Metalúrgicos in São Bernardo do Campo. Some months later, PT's leader “Lula” also gave a conference in Barcelona.

have also been carried out. All this with just 80 members, among which 15-20 people are the ones who normally organise activities. The funding is apparently one of the keys to explain some activities that other associations cannot perform.

Although the Lebanese 'community' in Barcelona is smaller than the Uruguayan, other points in common between both are the significant amount of members who have reached a higher economic status than the average immigrant from impoverished countries which enables them to contribute special donations or pay higher fees, which allows both associations to have their headquarters (the Lebanese have a flat in Clot area). The Lebanese association in Barcelona is not elitist, as opposed to the Lebanese Club in Madrid, as among its members there is, for instance, an advisor of the CITE-CCOO office in Barcelona and their headquarters are open to any person who is interested.

Some time after the appearance of the Solidarity Committee with Lebanon, in 1983 thousands of refugees arrived in Spain from Iran. Some of them were members of the Communist Party of Iran and when they arrived at the airport in Barcelona they were arrested by the Spanish authorities. Due to the intervention of some PSUC MPs they were freed, and thanks to Amnesty International and CCOO they could explain to the Catalan society what was happening in their country. During the 1980s, the repression of Iranian refugees in Europe was very strong. They were under government pressure because of the Western economic and strategic interests in that country. In Spain, during those years, a supposed Socialist party (PSOE) was in power, but it did not make a difference, repression against left-wing refugees was hard. Nazarin Amiriam (one of the active members of the Comité de Defensa dels Presos Polítics d'Iran) explains in an interview the case of a comrade who before being deported to Iran by the Spanish police committed suicide in Madrid:

"Me acuerdo una vez, sí, sí, porque además hicimos una manifestación, cogieron a un chico, se llamaba Shatel, llevaba 6 años en España, ya tenía el asilo conseguido, fíjate, tenía el asilo concedido. Vivía en Madrid, la policía le coge en la calle, le pide la documentación, tiene todo en regla, pero no, no les importa, a ellos que lo tengas todo en regla. Dicen:

- 'estás expulsado de España',

- '¿por qué?'

- 'pues no, no hay porqué', 'pues tienes que ir al aeropuerto',

- dice, 'por favor, al menos permitirme ir a recoger mis cosas',

- dicen, 'vale', le acompañan hasta su casa, que está en la zona de Aluche de Madrid, en un decimotercer piso, se va arriba y se tira desde arriba a abajo.

Porque dice: 'oye, si yo tengo que morirme, porque si me deportais a Iran me asesinaran en el mismo aeropuerto', porque era un refugiado politico, 'pues prefiero morirme aquí, antes de recibir tantas torturas', y se mató, de estos hay muchos, de eso que la policía venga a llamarte a tu casa a las cuatro, tres de la mañana con patatas, porque ellos saben que tu no eres ni traficante de drogas, ni terrorista, nada de esto, pero es una forma de cohibirte, de humillarte, de que te vayas, ¿sabes?, esos son sus métodos. Aquí, me refiero aquí, pero seguramente en otros países pasa lo mismo, más o menos"

In any case, the repression implemented by the Spanish government was counteracted by the Spanish and Catalan people's solidarity:

"Son muchos actos de solidaridad, muchos telegramas, cartas, a la embajada, al régimen, protestas parlamentarias, a través de ellos hemos podido evitar varias penas de muerte en Iran, a través de ellos hemos podido influir en algunas decisiones del Parlamento Europeo sobre Iran, eso sí que hemos tenido, no nos quejamos ni de la solidaridad del pueblo ni de la actitud de los partidos políticos, eso si, eso es aparte, me refiero al estado y al gobierno."

The Iranian community in Spain is today around 2,000 members strong and, similar to the Lebanese immigrants, among them there is a sharp division between a larger group of traders and businessmen (dealing with carpets and food such as pistachios and rice) and a smaller group of people with a middle or low class background, where Nazarín Amiriam places herself. The Asociación Democrática de la Mujer Iraní group in Barcelona still receives death threats from Iran's regime. As an example, in 1997 this Iranian women's group intended to participate with a stall in the *Festa de la Diversitat* of SOS Racisme, but they were threatened by the Iranian embassy and gave up; threats cannot be taken lightly, as dozens of Iranian dissidents have been murdered in Europe by Iran's secret services in recent years. The timid reforms that have taken place since 1997 are still not enough, as the riots in Teheran in the summer of 1999 may confirm.

On the other hand, the evolution of trade unionism in Spain, during the 1980s and 1990s can be shown with a comment of this Iranian refugee when she was asked about the current relationships that they maintain with trade unions. The previous stronger commitment to internationalist solidarity among trade unions at a world level has faded away:

"Ahora no, antes bajo el nombre de los sindicatos iraníes sí, pero luego ha venido Antonio Gutiérrez en Comisiones Obreras, y este hombre en UGT. No, porque ellos no quieren ningún compromiso, antes cuando estaba Marcelino Camacho o Nicolás Redondo, ellos antes publicaban [en] el boletín informativo [sobre] los sindicatos, porque en Iran mataron a todos los líderes sindicales, estan perseguidos, ¿no? Entonces cuando sacabamos un boletín, por ejemplo, 'Los obreros de la hoteleria de Teheran estan en huelga y que han matado a no se cuantos', ellos te publicaban gratis para nosotros. Ahora ya no lo hacen, había antes un comité, en Comisiones [Obreras] había un comité de solidaridad con los pueblos, ahora ya no hay."

7.2.2 Mid 1980s: changes in the trade unions and migrations

These changes in mainstream trade union orientation regarding internationalist solidarity have to be contextualised in the wider transformation of trade unionism in Spain (and world-wide) as well as in the changing relationships with employers' organisations (see Colectivo Ioé, 1998):

During the early years after franquism, there seemed to be a process aiming to conform a new system of labour relationships based on the premise of collective autonomy of trade unions and employers' organisations, and on the opposition to any government's supervision. In addition, the Spanish Constitution (1978) provided trade unions with a relevant role, having to be run in a 'democratic' way. The Constitution defines them as representatives of economic and social interests, and it assumes that their duties are not limited to the implementation of workers' rights against companies, but they are also extended to governmental issues (the media, education planning, social security system and welfare services, economic planning in general, etc.). This juridical development assumed a tendency of main trade unions to become a 'social citizenship' representatives, conforming themselves as a parallel form to political parties.

The social reality was different, as previously pointed out. The 'transition' was characterised by a confrontation between trade union confederations, so the government performed an important role of selection and marking the different 'social agents' in order to avoid centrifugal tendencies and to guarantee a 'regulation' capacity for social action, imposing 'neo-corporativist' dynamics, which favour negotiation between bureaucratic executives under government arbitration. In this sense, the Workers' Statute (Estatuto de Trabajadores, ET) passed in 1980 avoided a system based on voluntary representation of collective interests depending on the capacity of action and, as opposed to this, imposed a procedure for the selection of 'interlocutors', rules were fixed for identifying the negotiators and a premise of majorities was established that intended to give a general validation to all collective agreements. In this way two sorts of trade union confederations were established by the government: the 'representative' ones (UGT and CCOO) and the 'less

representative' ones (the latter were excluded from negotiations), while among employers' organisations there was no representation criterion applied.

The Workers' Statute (ET) built a 'dual trade union model' which assigned the micro collective negotiation in each company to a *Comité de Empresa* (company's committee) where the 'most representative' option imposes the 'unity of action' and marginalises other options. At the same time, in macro levels the collective negotiation depends on the trade union confederation, therefore at this general level the trade union does not perform according to its members, but according with the aims that the executive has established as the 'most representative' trade union confederations.

It is since this consideration of trade unions as 'public interest institutions' in 1981 that CCOO and UGT joined a process characterised by a policy of socio-economic agreement with the central government, and some procedures for the consolidation of the major trade unions are agreed. In this way, in the 1983-1985 government budgets, significant amounts of money were dedicated to fund the larger trade unions and, furthermore, funding was given to them by the government according to the realisation of certain training activities, and they were given an institutional participation in government job centres service (INEM). This institutionalisation of trade unions was extended with the Ley Orgánica de Libertad Sindical in 1985 and with an incentive to greater measures for labour 'flexibility', which were the basis of the *concertación social* policy (or partnership) developed during the mid 1980s¹⁶⁷.

The significant surrender of social and labour rights performed by the largest trade unions during that period of 'social agreements' were justified as a necessary compensation to employers in order to reach a consolidation of the democratic institutions (including trade unions) and to increase the number of jobs. As previously shown, during this period a reduction of salaries and the impoverishment of contracts

¹⁶⁷ 1980-81: Inter-confederal Framework Agreement (signed by CEOE, UGT with the later USO adhesion).

1982: Employment National Agreement (signed in the shadow of the February 23 frustrated coup d'état by government, CEOE, UGT and CCOO).

1983: Inter-confederal Agreement (signed by UGT, CCOO, CEOE and CEPYME, without government signature).

1985-86: Social and Economic Agreement (the last tripartite pact of UGT, government and CEOE-CEPYME, without CCOO signature). See Colectivo Ioé (1998).

was accepted, thus in the mid 1980s trade unions grassroots had been weakened¹⁶⁸ and the largest trade unions confederations became administrative bodies for social planning which performed, via delegation, some government powers. This is what has been called 'neo-corporativism'.

It was in this union context that a few foreign workers linked to CCOO founded in Barcelona (for the first time in Spain) an Information Centre for Foreign Workers (*Centre d'Informació per Treballadors Estrangers-CITE*) in 1986 with the support of the then CCOO general-secretary Marcelino Camacho. In other words, several years after the appearance of those associations based on internationalist solidarity committees, a trade union confederation started taking care of foreign workers not just as workers, but also as foreigners. The CITE was originally conceived with a dual character, as activist and services provider.

In the mid 1980s the franquist OSE buildings in Via Laietana were distributed among different trade unions confederations, including CCOO, enabling them to find room for an information centre for foreign workers (CITE). It has to be underlined that CITE was created some time after the approval of the Ley Orgánica 7/1985 sobre Derechos y Libertades de Extranjeros, after the adhesion agreement of Spain in the European Community (1985), and after the arrival in Barcelona of significant new immigration waves attracted by the Catalan labour market (especially newcomers from Morocco, West Africa, Latin America, and Eastern and Southern Asia). With all these arrivals, after some time new associations appeared for 'foreign immigrants', with common features among them. However, they showed differences between them and some points in common with the old ones. But before dealing with them, it is necessary to go further with CCOO and CITEs analysis.

After a few years CITE ended up being a juridical, social and labour information centre, basically a service. In this way, finally, CCOO had also ended up adopting, partially, the 'social-democratic' trade union model provider of services that UGT had chosen almost from the beginning of the 'transition', although in terms of foreign immigration UGT did not offer specialised services in Catalonia until 1993. As time

¹⁶⁸ According to Jesús Albarracín, the number of CCOO members decreased from 1,820,000 workers in 1979, to 702,000 in 1981, 382,000 in 1984 and, finally, 353,000 in 1987 (quoted in *Colectivo Ióé*, 1998).

went by CCOO created CEPROM in order to offer training courses to its members, *Habitatge Entorn* in order to offer them housing, etc.

The Foreigners' Law (1985) and its implementation rules (1986), in their first version passed in the Spanish Parliament banned the formation of 'foreign immigrant' associations not conducted by Spanish citizens, but in 1987 this issue was declared unconstitutional (Corredera and Diez, 1994) and since then a number of such associations have grown in cities such as Barcelona.

During those times of renewed uncertainty, in 1986, the Centro Filipino Tuluyan started being created as a religious organisation with the support of the Catholic Church. Father Avelino explains the genesis of the Centre in an interview, published in the magazine of another 'foreign immigrants' collective (ASOPXI):

Habíamos llegado aquí para asistir pastoralmente a nuestra comunidad, pero nos dimos cuenta que ésta no bastaba para dar solución a las reales necesidades sociales de los filipinos, pues *no sólo había que dar atención a las necesidades espirituales y morales. Necesitábamos dar solución a las necesidades sociales.* / Empezamos a buscar alrededor de nosotros personas e instituciones que trabajaban en este campo. Nos dimos cuenta que debíamos crear una asociación que canalizara los problemas de la gente. Entonces comenzamos con el trabajo religioso, para luego asumir un trabajo más social. Fomentamos los intereses sociales de nuestra comunidad y utilizamos el púlpito para decir que no éramos nada si no estábamos organizados. Esto fue en el año 1988, para luego institucionalizarnos legalmente en el año 1989. / La constitución de la comunidad filipina inicialmente es femenina, luego por ser Barcelona un puerto importante en el Mediterráneo, muchos marinos conocieron a sus futuras esposas aquí, para luego conformar familias y quedarse definitivamente. Cuando comencé mi trabajo pastoral en el año 1986 en la Parroquia de Santa Mónica¹⁶⁹, *me di cuenta que nuestra comunidad era fundamentalmente femenina, entonces por mi amistad desde Roma con la congregación de monjas Las Benedictinas Misioneras, las invité para establecer un centro de acogida y de servicio directo para atender las necesidades de las mujeres filipinas, para escuchar mejor, y creamos un equipo de trabajo más eficiente*¹⁷⁰. [italics are mine]

The Centro Filipino have a local place in the Raval, but during the early days they did not receive any public funding¹⁷¹, and financed themselves by voluntary contributions from Philippine immigrants and 'our friends from out of the country' in the words of Sister Paulita Astillero (apart from the Catholic Church support). The activities of the Centre are educational training (languages, vocational training) and information about

¹⁶⁹ This church is located in Raval, specifically in Les Rambles.

¹⁷⁰ Extracts of an interview of Padre Avelino by Rodrigo Díaz and published in *Full Informatiu d'ASOPXI*, issue 2, April/May 1998.

¹⁷¹ In 1996 they received the first funding from the Barcelona city government.

immigrant people's rights. They organise cultural activities and informative campaigns through the neighbourhood parish. The self-development of Filipino immigrants in Barcelona is one of the main targets, as Sister Paulita Astillero noted in an interview. This missionary nun is one of the five people who comprise the working team which co-ordinates the activities of the centre. All co-ordinators are religious people, although they wanted to involve some of the hundred volunteers they count on. In their events, Centro Filipino can gather two hundred people participating among a mainly female Filipino community in Barcelona who are mainly employed in domestic service. Such occupations make associative participation more complicated due to difficulties finding the time, difficulties which may increase if they live in the same place where they work¹⁷².

Some time after the appearance of Centro Filipino, Casal Llatinoamericà a Catalunya (CLACA) was created as a result of the confluence of persons with diverse geographic origins and backgrounds in 1988¹⁷³. The aims of this association are the denunciation of the foreigners' law, the promotion of equality of rights for Latin American immigrants, making the Catalan society more concerned about the situation of this collective, the diffusion of their cultures, encouraging associations among immigrants, creating meeting-spaces where they can discuss interesting issues for Latin American immigrants, as well as fighting against any form of racism and xenophobia.

¹⁷² It has to be mentioned that this Centre has become a reference point in 'foreign immigration' issues in Barcelona. Thus, in Autumn 1997, Father Avelino was elected Vice-president of the Consell Municipal d'Immigració de Barcelona (the president is Barcelona's mayor, Joan Clos, first Vice-president is the Social Welfare Councillor, Eulàlia Vintró, and the second Vice-president is Padre Avelino, as immigrants' associations representative). The rules of that immigration council were passed by the Consell Plenari of Ajuntament de Barcelona on the 24th of October 1997.

¹⁷³ On the 10th of October 1998 they celebrated their 10th anniversary with a party in the Centre Cívic Cotxeres de Sants, in Barcelona.

7.2.3 *SOS Racisme and FCIC appear in pre-Olympic Barcelona*

CLACA and Centro Filipino were two different organisations in many aspects, but at the same time they had common aims. Such shared interests made them become two of the main engines and foundation members of the Federació de Col·lectius d'Immigrants a Catalunya (FCIC), together with several of Barcelona's and Maresme based Equatorial-Guinean, Senegalese and Gambian associations. This federation of immigrant associations is almost unique in Europe, due to the diversity of associations included. It was promoted from the CITE of Comissions Obreres (CCOO) and grew with its support, during the early times, due to the extraordinary process of foreign workers' regularisation in 1991. Over time, as will be analysed below, the relationship between FCIC and CITE-CCOO worsened.

FCIC was founded in 1990, with the announcement of foreign workers' regularisation, but it was during 1991, during the Extraordinary Regularisation of Foreign Workers itself, when it began to consolidate itself. By then diverse NGOs, like SOS Racisme and Caritas, and trade unions, basically CCOO, had created a platform called *Catalunya Solidària amb la Immigració* (Catalonia Solidary with Immigration). It was in the framework of such social organisations platform where the creation of a federation which grouped immigrants' associations was possible: 'a body that collected immigrants' demands which was run by immigrants themselves' in the words of Obam Mico, a member of the FCIC directory board. In this first phase the response was wide among the immigrants' collectives, there were meetings nearly weekly in the framework of Catalunya Solidària: FCIC was being consolidated. But after the regularisation process there was a break-down, the co-ordination between associations became very difficult. Obam Mico remembered that post-regularisation crisis:

"(el) bajón ha durado hasta hace un año y medio¹⁷⁴, manteniendo la federación a toda costa porque lo que sí que es cierto es que todos veíamos la necesidad de que existiera una federación, aunque nos costara mucho plantear campañas concretas, actividades concretas, tuvimos el acierto de no dejar que muriera. Desde hace un par de años la FCIC tiene un mayor impulso,... estamos en un contacto más

¹⁷⁴ Interview conducted in July 1996.

permanente, llegamos fácilmente a acuerdos ... incluso muchos colectivos que no son de la federación ven hoy, la necesidad que la federación crezca. En síntesis, estos seis años han sido muy difíciles, pero yo creo que han valido la pena, porque creo que hoy está gozando de la credibilidad que necesita, la credibilidad de los propios inmigrantes.”

The hardest period of the post-1991 Foreign Workers' Extraordinary Regularisation process was coincident with the period when 'foreign immigrants' associations were over-shadowed by SOS Racisme. This anti-racist NGO became the *de facto* leader among social organisations dealing with immigration issues in Barcelona when a debate on 'foreigners' in Catalonia came to the public eye in 1992. It was due to several circumstances that will be analysed below.

SOS Racisme of Catalonia had been created in 1988, after a group of members from the French organisation SOS Racisme visited Barcelona. They were looking for left-wing organisations which were working on 'foreign immigration' issues. The one found with more public projection was CITE of CCOO. Therefore, CCOO trade unionists and supporters of this trade union (mainly foreign workers) together with other people that heard about the idea of creating an 'anti-racist' association like the French SOS Racisme, were the foundation members of SOS Racisme in Barcelona. Nearly a third of the group were 'foreign immigrants'.

As has been pointed out on several occasions¹⁷⁵, SOS Racisme in France was born and grew in the early 1980s with important support from the French Socialist Party, which intended to block the influence of the French Communist Party (PCF) among the African immigrants and their descendants. In Spain, with the Socialist party in government and performing a tough immigration policy, neither the PSC nor the PSOE were worried about the social situation of foreign immigration until the 1990s¹⁷⁶. During the 1980s organisations closer to CCOO, PCE, PSUC and smaller left-wing parties were the ones that led solidarity with foreign immigration.

Apart from groups like Bayt Al Thaqafa o Caritas (more religious-oriented), in the Barcelona of the latest 1980s, solidarity with 'foreign immigrants' was mainly developed from organisations at the left-wing of socialists: on the one hand, CCOO

¹⁷⁵ See, for instance, Patrick Ireland (1994).

¹⁷⁶ In 1991 people close to PSOE created in Madrid the campaign 'Jóvenes contra la Intolerancia' that later became a NGO, however it did not have significant influence in Barcelona. On the other hand, some time later, from the Ministerio de Asuntos Sociales (MAS) was proposed a plan for immigrants' social integration which was passed in December 1994 by the government.

and the then recently created Iniciativa per Catalunya (where PSUC was included); on the other hand, the Communist Party of Catalonia-PCC (a pro-soviet split from PSUC); and finally, several smaller organisations such as the Lliga Comunista Revolucionaria (LCR) and the Moviment dels Comunistes de Catalunya (MCC) - which ended up in a temporary fusion called 'Revolta' - as well as anarchist collectives among others.

In the foundation of SOS Racisme, this organisation profited from the name and fame of its French sister organisation. The news from France spread in the mass media was influential in the speedy impact of its name in Catalonia. Thus SOS Racisme became a meeting point for different anti-racist options in Barcelona. This idea of diversity made possible that over time other people not related to any established political party also joined SOS Racisme.

In summary, the 1990s began with several facts that influenced later events regarding participation of 'foreign immigrants' in social organisations:

- The Foreign Workers' Extraordinary Regularisation process was developed during 1991 and it was a response to the claims of diverse social organisations since the failure of the first regularisation process (1985-1986). The climax of complaints came with the presentation in Madrid, in 1989, of a document denouncing the situation of major de-documentation among 'foreigners'. It was signed by Amnesty International, APDH, A.A.J., ASTI, Caritas, CEAR, CCOO-Comisión de Emigración, IEPALA and PCE. The year after, the government brought to parliament a proposal of migration policy. The regulation of 1991 was one of the branches of that policy that sanctioned the documentation of a significant amount of people (being documented is essential to form an association), although it was limited to workers who could prove a certain period of time of residence in Spain. In any case, the current renovation of permits system under the foreign Spanish government policy meant that after one year thousands of workers became de-documented again.
- In 1992 the *Informe de Girona* (Girona's report) was published by several NGOs in that North Catalan area which, among other issues, denounced the lack of a

social integration policy for foreign immigration. This document had quite a lot of support and pushed Generalitat de Catalunya (which had been blind to 'foreign immigration' until then) to take a position on these issues. On the other hand, the *Informe de Girona* gave support to the creation of immigrants' associations as a method of social integration.

- In the Autumn of 1992 Lucrecia Pérez, a Dominican Republic immigrant was killed in Aravaca (Madrid) by a group of fascists, among them there was a *Guardia Civil*¹⁷⁷ officer. The issue had intense media coverage and it was included in a media campaign that raised awareness on the spread of the extreme right in Europe. The most visible side of it were those the media called skinheads. As a response to that murder, there was the biggest solidarity action ever in Barcelona. In November 1992 a demonstration organised by, at that time, a small organisation called SOS Racisme assembled tens of thousands of people in the city centre under the slogan 'Fascism never again' (*Feixisme mai més*). That appeal received the support on paper of all the parliamentary political parties (including the right-wing ones) and many NGOs, immigrant associations, trade unions and other social organisations.
- This reactivation of what was called 'neofascism' occurred while an 'economic crisis' at a global scale was taking place (which meant a step further on the capitalist restructuration towards a major liberalisation). In Spain, the impact of this 'crisis' was postponed several months due to the economic activities generated by the Olympic Games in Barcelona and Expo'92 in Seville. However, hard consequences came out immediately after for the working class, in that unemployment reached the highest levels, the Spanish average getting close to 25 percent of the economically active population.

At the beginning of 1992, associations of immigrants from impoverished countries were, in general, too weak to claim respect for their rights on their own. But SOS Racisme was also weak in Catalonia: it was an organisation with a few active members which had just left behind an important economic failure in a concert against racism

¹⁷⁷ The Guardia Civil is the Spanish Military Police.

organised in 1990 (in Palau d'Esports de Montjuïc) that occasioned the loss of a significant amount of money.

However, several months later the public projection of SOS Racisme increased in the media, mainly from the demonstrations organised in 1992 onwards. A short time after the big demonstration of autumn 1992, the president of the Generalitat de Catalunya, Jordi Pujol, invited some members of SOS Racisme executive (*Comissió Permanent*) to a dinner in the Palau de la Generalitat. In the following years, the grants from the Generalitat were one of the main sources of funding for SOS Racisme, which enabled them to sort the economic troubles after some time (the publication of the accounts figures were one of the claims from the critical sectors within SOS Racisme which was repeatedly delayed by the directory board). The fresh money from the Generalitat, with some help from other public administrations, enabled SOS Racisme to organise another event in 1993 at the Palau d'Esports de Montjuïc with relative success. They have now repeated the experience, called Festa de la Diversitat, every year since then (from 1995 its location moved to the Moll de la Fusta, Ciutat Vella).

Another sign of the good relations between SOS Racisme's board and the Generalitat de Catalunya government at that time was the existing collaboration between this NGO and Mossos d'Esquadra (Catalan Police) during the so-called 'violence wave' led by neo-Nazi skinheads, which the Spanish *Policia Nacional* did not make much effort to stop. This 'violence wave' had one of its most critical moments on October 12th 1993, after the *hispanidad* annual event¹⁷⁸ where several fascist and Spanish nationalist collectives meet every year¹⁷⁹, when some of these groups began to beat up several pedestrians on their way to the city centre.

The headquarters of SOS Racisme in Barcelona have moved several times but have always been located in Ciutat Vella, more specifically at the East of Las Ramblas, never in Raval¹⁸⁰ but closer to decision-making places¹⁸¹: from a wet area in Rec Street

¹⁷⁸ The 12th of October is known in North America as Columbus Day, but in Spain is celebrated by fascist groups as the day of the 'Spanish empire' or 'Hispanidad'. It is also the day of the Spanish Armed Forces, and the day of *Virgen del Pilar*, the *Guardia Civil* patron saint. That day usually anti-fascist demonstrations also take place in Spanish big cities.

¹⁷⁹ Ironically, this fascist event takes place in Plaça dels Països Catalans (Catalan countries square) in the border of Sants-Montjuïc with Les Corts and l'Eixample.

¹⁸⁰ Historically, Raval has been the poorest area in Barcelona city centre.

(until 1991), to a flat in Carrer Ciutat (1992-1994), from there to ground floor and underground place in Carrer Escudellers Blancs (1994-1996) and, since then, to a large first floor in Passatge de la Pau, where it is still located.

During the period 1992-1994 most associations involved in FCIC had to follow the previously noted events behind the leadership of SOS Racisme's board (where there were no FCIC representatives, but members of CITE, Iniciativa per Catalunya and people without involvement in any other organisation).

It is true that in early 1993 the Coordinadora Catalunya Solidària amb la Immigració Estrangera was created with a similar name to the platform created during the regularisation, but without some of the main leaders of that previous platform: CCOO and SOS Racisme. It tried to stop the 'monopoly' that SOS Racisme had in the public scene in relation to immigration issues. This 'coordinadora' was formed, on the one hand, by the 14 association members of FCIC at that time (Asociación de Immigrantes Filipinos-Centro Filipino, Asociación Riebapua, Bia Fang, CLACA, EASU, Viyil, English Language Teachers Association, Yama Kafo, Asociación de Mujeres Filipinas, ETANE, Moussa Molo, Centro Averroes, Tripartito Congo-Zaire-Angola and Moussa Kafo) as well as several NGOs and organisations sympathetic to foreign immigration: Justicia i Pau, CIDOB, Bayt al Taqafa, Associació de Juristes Demòcrates, ACSAR, Associació Nacions Unides, A.C.O., Vallés sense Fronteres, Kairós Europa, and Associació de Veïns del Casc Antic¹⁸².

¹⁸¹ Generalitat de Catalunya, Ajuntament de Barcelona, main trade unions, employers' organisations, etc. are located in Eastern Ciutat Vella.

¹⁸² The aims of the Coordinadora Catalunya Solidària amb la Immigració Estrangera (CSIE), pointed out in the first assembly, were the following ones:

- Supporting and facilitating the political, social and cultural participation of immigrants.
- Acting against any kind of racism and social exclusion.
- Struggling for a society with respect for different ones, in which they can cohabit, with the same rights, the different ethnies, peoples, cultures and religions in Catalonia.
- Boosting the social recognition of 'foreign immigrants', their right to be subject and protagonist of the development of democracy and tolerance in Catalonia and not the object of exploitation.
- Promoting campaigns of awareness of the public opinion regarding social, political and judicial situation of the immigrant.
- Being 'interlocutors' before the Administration in relation to all judicial, political and social problems of the immigrant.

7.2.4 Post-olympic transformations in social organisations and the appearance of a new generation

However SOS Racisme maintained public leadership in foreign immigration issues, owing to the media attitude and public administration support, as well as the interest of this NGO in owning this 'privilege' exclusively. In the mean time, FCIC was not strong enough to demonstrate in public on its own, or to influence in a significant way SOS Racisme policies. FCIC had several representatives in the *Consell Nacional* or National Council (in theory the maximum decision-making body between congresses), but they did not have real power, because at the end of the day key decisions were taken by the *Comissió Permanent* (directory body including just a dozen members). In SOS Racisme there were (apart from the FCIC members) other active groups which criticised the executive policy including, on the one hand, a group of young workers and students (mainly from U.A.B., U.P.F., and Gracia neighbourhood¹⁸³) and, on the other hand, by primary and secondary school teachers in the Pedagogical Commission and involved in the political organisation *Revolta*. More occasionally, local groups (such as Mataró) showed their disagreements with the executive.

This situation of ostracism within SOS Racisme reached its height in 1994, and a turning point occurred in the FCIC and the other two active groups' strategies. These three groups (FCIC, 'young people's group', and the pedagogical commission), although they often agreed at some points, worked in an independent way, and did not seriously attempt a co-ordination between them. As opposed to this, in the *Comissió Permanent* they had the perception of unity in what was called the 'critical sector', based probably on the fact that a few FCIC and Pedagogical Commission members were involved in *Revolta* as members. The young people's group had no members in *Revolta*.

¹⁸³ Members of the group in Gracia, who had as a meeting point the Casal "Els Joves", also participated in the Plataforma Anti-Feixista (PAF), which assembled several groups on the left side of SOS Racisme in localities of the metropolitan area of Barcelona. PAF organised diverse activities such as a boycott of the stall of the Europa bookshop (distributor of Nazi propaganda) in a book fair.

In any case, FCIC decisions consisted of establishing a turning point similar to the one previously noticed by the CLACA. The Political Resolutions accepted in the First FCIC Congress, which took place on November 6th 1994, included the following words, dedicated, without naming it, to the Permanent Commission of SOS Racisme:

Cuando el tema de la inmigración se hace cada vez más presente en la sociedad y en la política, y tanta gente habla de la inmigración, e incluso en nombre de la inmigración, es imprescindible que la inmigración tenga una voz propia y que esta voz, con todos los acentos que se quiera, sea representativa e independiente. Creemos que si las organizaciones que tanto hablan de respeto a la diferencia practican lo que predicán, la lucha anti-racista y a favor de los derechos de la inmigración sería muchísimo más eficaz. El respeto a la diferencia, aún cuando existan diferencias de apreciación, y la renuncia al protagonismo, ayudarían en gran medida a conseguir la necesaria unidad de todas las fuerzas dispuestas a luchar sin exclusivismos y en pie de igualdad.

During the following months the external strategy of the FCIC was to work together with the Coordinadora Catalunya Solidària. Other groups joined it during the development of the campaign *Igualtat de Drets, Democràcia per a Tothom*, which claimed the right to vote for foreign immigrants in local elections and intended influencing the programmes of political parties that presented their candidates in the 1995 local elections.

CLACA was one of the social organisations (apart from individuals) in 1994 that reconsidered their relations with SOS Racisme and (re)initiated a process of major internal work. It can be seen in the monthly *Sudacas. Boletín de Información del Casal Latinoamericano en Catalunya*¹⁸⁴ published in late 1994 in which an editorial article entitled 'Demandar la palabra' (to claim the word) included the following words:

Nuestra Asociación cree necesario mantener una relación más estrecha con el conjunto de los asociados/as y simpatizantes, por cuanto la publicación mensual del Boletín de Informaciones Sudacas apuntará a *promover la participación y el debate*, impulsando a los ciudadanos/as a ejercitar el derecho a demandar la palabra. En este sentido, y en el constante trabajo por consolidar nuestros objetivos específicos, *convocamos a crecer en el camino de las luchas sociales*. [italics are mine]

That year of 1994 had started on the 1st of January with the Zapatistas uprising in Chiapas (Mexico) which, among other demands, included the right of Mexican Indians opinions to be listened to, claiming 'the word' as well as a major power for people and social collectives against the governments and neoliberal logic.

¹⁸⁴ Do not confuse the bulletin with the magazine, the latter shares the same name (*Sudacas*) but had in 1994 been in existence for some years.

On the other hand, during those years of crisis, FCIC had an office in a public 'organisations hotel' located in La Pau neighbourhood, near Besós river, in an area where few immigrants live and which is difficult to reach by public transport. This factor, together with the price of transport, badly influenced the FCIC's development. Difficult relations between the level of political participation among impoverished communities and the price of transport has been noted in other studies¹⁸⁵, so the question may arise whether it was a coincidence that the Social Welfare Department of Generalitat de Catalunya donated an office to FCIC in the Piramidon building, next to the Besós river, which is located far away from most 'foreign immigrants' communities.

To avoid this separation from its potential social basis, in Spring 1996 FCIC opened a new headquarters in Raval neighbourhood, one of the poorest areas where a number of 'foreign immigrants' live in Barcelona, with the hope that it would help to consolidate their structure as a federation. Indeed, a year later in July 1997, Obam Mico in another interview analysed the changes produced during that period at an internal level, which included the consolidation of a meeting place and the organisation of a proper structure of the federation. There were still some difficulties for coordination among the associations in terms of the work to be done in common. But at an external level, Obam Mico considered an improvement the creation of the Asamblea Papers per Tothom, which came out as a FCIC initiative. In his own words:

"Creo que sí ha habido cambios, un cambio significa que, bueno, tenemos este local, que de alguna forma lo hemos consolidado como... lugar de referencia entre los inmigrantes, mucha gente pues viene aquí a consultar, a pedir información y esto era uno de los objetivos,... Estabamos en el hotel de entidades, no teniamos ninguna posibilidad de trabajar más directamente con la gente, y este objetivo se está cumpliendo, quizás no de una forma, totalmente óptima, pero yo creo que estamos... yendo hacia esta cuestión, ¿no? Por otra parte la estructura de la propia federación a nivel de organización también se está consolidando, quizás el hecho de que muchas veces nos podemos encontrar, nos pegamos muchas horas aquí, algunos de nosotros hablando de cosas, un poco intentando ir planificando actividades y tal. El aspecto que todavía nos preocupa hoy es la respuesta de los propios colectivos de inmigrantes en el trabajo de la federación, esto sí que lo tenemos de superar, lo tenemos que solucionar y la única manera desde mi punto de vista de solucionarlo es que la federación diera pasos adelante de conectar, que sea la federación la que realmente se preocupe de ir a los colectivos, y hablar con los colectivos, y estar con los colectivos y preocuparse de los problemas reales de los colectivos, con el fin de asumirlos y de plantearlos a la sociedad como problemáticas que afectan a los inmigrantes a nivel global. Esto en cuanto al aspecto de la federación como tal. Por otra parte a lo largo de estos meses, desde septiembre precisamente, a iniciativa de la Federación de Colectivos de Inmigrantes, se ha puesto en marcha la Asamblea Papeles para Todos..."

¹⁸⁵ See Mike Geddes (1997).

According to Obam Mico, the only requirement for membership of the FCIC is to be a 'foreign immigrants' association. The range of origins is wide (sub-Saharan Africa, Magreb, Latin America, Asia, Europe). In this sense there are groups where most of their members are Catholic, others Muslim and some who are not religious at all. On the other hand, the political visions are quite diverse as well. This diversity is an advantage, due to the richness it implies and because they can know rapidly what is going on among foreign immigrants in general. However, it is also a problem because of the idiosyncrasies of each group, and communication is sometimes difficult.

It is interesting to take into account other changes between the summer of 1996 and the summer of 1997: an increase in the number of foreign immigrant associations federated (from 15 members in 1996 to 18 in 1997), apart from several other associations involved with FCIC as 'observers'. This increase has been, partially, the response to a previous weakness, because until 1996 the associations that were members were the ones which had several years of experience in FCIC. This began to be left behind due to the incorporation of new associations such as the Associació Cultural Ibn Batuta, which appeared as part of the new generation in the 1990s as will be examined below.

In FCIC, members work in commissions: there is a social commission (labour, welfare issues, etc.), a commission for education (adults and children), a commission of women, and a prisons' commission. Then there is an executive (*Junta Ejecutiva*) which co-ordinates the whole federation, and there are monthly assemblies attended by a representative of each association.

Regarding the funding of the federation, originally associations had to pay a fee, but it was not enough, and thus in 1994 they began to apply for public funding. However, they only received a small grant from the Ajuntament de Barcelona and another one from Diputació de Barcelona. Generalitat de Catalunya has never funded them, despite applications for financial help¹⁸⁶ and their participation in Consell Assessor de la Immigració de la Generalitat. That is why they have never had economic resources to enhance major campaigns which could enable them to reach their main target - the defence of foreign immigrants' full rights.

¹⁸⁶ This is a trait underlined in both 1996 and 1997 interviews.

With the developments above, most FCIC activities became 'political': "Our work is mainly political, because the immigration problems are mainly political; we are seeing it through the expulsions and it has been seen with the Ley de Extranjeria", as Obam Mico noted. NGOs (such as SOS Racisme), some trade unions (CCOO and UGT) and governments (Generalitat de Catalunya) did not like such opinions. FCIC political pretensions were seen as a threat to older organisations (and government) leadership or control of the situation, in a context where previous social organisations had chosen a managerial strategy rather than transformation. The particular activities developed by FCIC had been in general characterised by civil activity against the immigration problems (open assemblies, debates, demonstrations and festivals), as well as joining common struggles with the rest of the working class and people's movements. A key moment was during the FCIC support of the General Strike that took place in Spain as a whole on 27 January 1994¹⁸⁷ against the labour reform (designed to reduce workers' rights). Another case of FCIC support of wider mobilisations was related to the right to decent housing, specifically demonstrations to support the right to squat in empty spaces and against evictions of Squatted Social Centres (*Centres Socials Okupats*).

Regarding to the General Strike of 1994, the FCIC class option was clear, as shown in the first issue of the magazine of this federation:

La reforma laboral no nos toca directamente, pero sus consecuencias, así como toda esta política económica nos está hundiendo en una miseria dramática. Para un inmigrante perder el trabajo significa perder la posibilidad de renovar la residencia ...

Nos sumamos a la convocatoria con las centrales sindicales. Y así, con nuestros escasas y pequeñas fuerzas dimos un paso en el camino de sumar a los inmigrantes al movimiento obrero. Pues ese es el lugar que nos corresponde, con nuestros hermanos de clase¹⁸⁸.

In contrast with the 'social peace' that had taken place during the early 1980s, the 1994 General Strike was the summit of a process of rupture of the *concertació social* (social partnership). It had been mainly in the General Strike of 14 December 1988, when both CCOO (which had already convoked a General Strike without UGT support several years before) and UGT began to decline agreements with employers' confederations and the government. Laws on social and labour issues in the late 1980s

¹⁸⁷ FCIC distributed a poster in several languages which - together with the trade unions - called for participation in the General Strike.

¹⁸⁸ See *La Veu dels Immigrants*, Spring 1994, p.8.

and early 1990s were passed again by the government by decree (or in parliament) without fruitful negotiations with trade unions.

This change of mainstream trade union strategy (CCOO, UGT) was, partially, a result of an internal crisis. The institutionalisation process of the 1980s led to a crisis of collective negotiation as a result of a centrifugal movement (Colectivo Ioé, 1998) which operated:

- downwards: there was a collective micro-negotiation at workplaces and participatory forms not extendible to the whole. It is relevant to bear in mind also that Balfour (1989) had noted that already during the anti-franquist struggle the relative importance of trade union organisation at a local level was not well connected, in other words, there were poor links between the struggles of different localities.

- upwards: there was a generic macro-agreement which did not go beyond the institutional boundary. The more institutionalised unions were, the deeper was their identity crisis because they did not satisfy one of their main traditional tasks: reclaiming workers' rights.

In this context appeared a new debate between two organisation models: on the one hand, a 'company trade union' linked to the confederate unions and, on the other hand a 'class trade union' with strong social grassroots and open to the diverse situations which affect workers (permanent and temporary employment, unemployment, variation in skills etc.). Today, as Colectivo Ioé notes, the strategy of UGT and CCOO (despite some internal criticisms) are leading trade unions to the first model, towards 'company trade unions' with the support of confederated unions.

This model of confederated unions provides several services to its members that the 'company union' could not provide on its own. In this way, one of the main activities are training courses. Mainstream unions receive important amounts of money from central government, autonomic administrations, city councils and European Social Funds in order to carry out these courses. 'Foreign immigrants' are among the considered collectives that can attend such courses.

However, it is important to bear in mind that FCIC and most of the immigrant associations do not run training courses. It is not because they are not interested in them, but because the way these courses are designed does not take into account the opinion of immigrants or the resources available to them. In this sense, in 1996 FCIC made a proposal to the Generalitat (which had not received a response):

“Pensamos que es algo que realmente nos corresponde a nosotros, porque... en realidad los cursos que se hacen con inmigrantes hasta ahora son cursos en los cuales las propuestas vienen de quien organiza el curso, casi nunca se cuenta con los propios inmigrantes para detectar sus necesidades y a partir de ahí estructurar y organizar los cursos” (Obam Micó)

The procedure of applying to the Generalitat de Catalunya for the funding necessary to run a course consisted in choosing between the proposals submitted by NGOs or City Councils according to criteria based on a research on labour market demand carried out by the Generalitat's Labour Department. According to Obam Mico there was a significant number of irregularities:

“Se presuponen una serie de realidades que no son reales ... se presupone que los inmigrantes pueden trabajar en jardinería y a partir de aquí se estructura con encuestas falseadas ... se plantea una encuesta sin haberla hecho, como son requisitos para hacer subvenciones se hacen de esta manera En el Maresme la mayoría de los inmigrantes trabajan en el campo ... y a partir de allí se monta un curso de jardinería sin saber si estos inmigrantes lo que quieren es justamente trabajar en esto, es este el dato importante, si quieres organizar algo para un colectivo tienes que saber sus demandas”.

During the first part of my fieldwork, I consulted a civil servant from the Generalitat's Labour Department in order to know the method of assessment they had on the quality of market researches and the answer was simply that there was no control: they trusted the organisation that applied for funding. A Generalitat's technician was assessing the outcome of training activities, but previously there was no serious control on the real usefulness of a training course.

This kind of situation was considered unfair, but could not be denounced by the FCIC in public due to a lack of access to the media, where foreign immigrants usually appeared as passive objects. As it has been noted in a recent research, it is not normally possible for them to express their opinion on the news¹⁸⁹. In this way, FCIC decided to publish their own magazine due to the preference of the mass media for the opinions of

¹⁸⁹ See the study carried out by ADAI on foreign immigration and media published in 1998 in Barcelona.

older NGOs. This publication was finally called *La Veu dels immigrants* but its distribution was very limited owing to a lack of resources.

The option chosen by the CCOO executive, consisting in being mainly trade unions of services performing occasional public actions, can be illustrated clearly with the words of Miguel Pajares, president of CITE in Catalonia:

- "nosotros lo que básicamente hacemos es la asesoría, y tenemos 23 oficinas en Catalunya. Estos 14 asesores se reparten entre las distintas oficinas,... y cada uno de ellos hace unas o varias oficinas, dependiendo: mientras en la oficina de Barcelona hay tres asesores sólo para la oficina de Barcelona, en las demás oficinas es al revés, un asesor atiende dos, tres oficinas. Entonces es un poco, cada oficina tiene unos días determinados y el asesor pues va los días que le corresponde. Eso y, los asesores, además del trabajo de asesorías, hacen algunas otras actividades de las que hacen en el CITE, porque hacemos cursos de formación ocupacional, organizamos actividades para extranjeros, etc. Eso se hace tanto desde la oficina central como con participación de miembros de la plantilla de asesores, dependiendo de la actividad"

- *¿Qué otras actividades se realizan?*

- "Después de asesoría - que es la actividad más importante: asesoría, información, gestión, todo lo que nosotros llamamos asesoría -, la segunda por importancia son los cursos de formación ocupacional y otros cursos que hacemos. Ahora estamos haciendo cursos de idiomas, de castellano y catalán para extranjeros, y tenemos programados otro tipo de cursos, cursos de cooperativismo, etc. Hemos hecho también algunos cursos de inserción laboral: por ejemplo con el colectivo filipino hicimos un curso de 6 sesiones, etc. o sea el tema de la formación es también un bloque que no tiene la importancia de la asesoría, pero tiene una importancia creciente, o sea le estamos dando. Y luego, a parte de eso, claro, como entidad participamos en un conjunto de cosas, como entidad se han organizado manifestaciones con otras entidades, como la FAVB, Sos Racismo, las asociaciones de inmigrantes, etc. Organizamos actividades más culturales o lúdicas, como son las excursiones: tenemos un programa de excursiones anual, en el que organizan 4,5,6 excursiones al año, se organizan unos autocares y se juntan distintos, para inmigrantes, que se recogen desde las oficinas o a través de las asociaciones de inmigrantes, es decir, entonces organizamos unas excursiones para ir a distintos puntos de Catalunya, conocer Catalunya y tal; o la participación en fiestas, con stands, etc. Es decir, luego hay todo un conjunto de actividades que es más difícil de concretar porque es lo que va surgiendo, también dependiendo de cosas que van pasando"

CITE has offices in each *comarca* of Barcelona province, except in Berguedà, with a total of 23 offices in 1997. They are located in Barcelona-Via Laietana, Barcelona-Plaça Espanya and Sta. Coloma de Gramanet (in Barcelonès); El Prat de Llobregat, Viladecans, St. Vicens dels Horts and Martorell (in Baix Llobregat); Sabadell, Terrassa and Rubí (Vallés Occidental), Granollers (Vallés Oriental); Mataró and Pineda de Mar (Maresme); Vilafranca del Penedés (Alt Penedés), Vilanova i la Geltrú (Garraf), Igualada (Anoia), Vic and Manlleu (Osona), and Manresa (Bages). In addition, CITE has an office in the capital towns of the other provinces in Catalonia. This territorial extension from an office in Barcelona began after the extraordinary regularisation process of 1991: until then CITE had been based in Barcelona. It was between 1992 and 1996 when there was a 'territorialisation' of the services and up to 20 offices were

created (in that period CITE's president was Xavier Oliver). As a result of the Catalan congress of CCOO on December 18th and 20th 1995 a few changes occurred in this trade union. Among these post-congress transformations, the incorporation of Miguel Pajares (a former member of SOS Racisme's executive) as CITE's new president can be underlined. Among the changes that the new president made were, the completion of the 'territorialisation' with three new offices (bringing the total to 23) and the creation of responsibility for 'foreign immigration' in the territorial unions of CCOO, which was missing previously. According to Miguel Pajares, the implication of the whole structure of CCOO in 'foreign immigration' issues is a slow process.

This change in CITE's president was almost coincident with a general change in the CCOO and UGT confederation strategies: the labour reform of 1994 was finally accepted by their executives and this meant a partial retreat in the regulative role of the government and an extension of power to companies and businessmen in a moment of workers' weakness and fragmentation. In relation to CCOO, the General Strike of January 1994 had ended up being convoked because of internal pressure from an important part of its members, who wanted to protest against the economic problems suffered and the threat of a new employer-friendly law. However, such mobilisation was not fully supported by the new general secretary elected for the 1990s, Antonio Gutiérrez, nor was there enthusiasm from the bureaucratic apparatus created during the 1980s, apparently, they were afraid that the agreement between PSOE and CiU in 1993 could lead to the adoption of legislative anti-union measures like the ones adopted by Margaret Thatcher in Britain during the 1980s. In this way, despite the success of workers' participation (there were also foreign immigrants among them), the day after the Strike the executives of the mainstream trade unions decided to stop mobilisations (in the case of UGT, their participation had already been discrete during the strike).

Regarding the government's labour institution, it also led to fragmentation because it was oriented towards a dualisation of the management of unemployment (private employment agencies versus INEM), of retirement benefits (public pensions versus private pensions), etc. With the rise of Partido Popular to power, again supported by CiU, in March 1996, the trade unions and the employers' organisations returned to the

inter-confederate agreements (or 'social agreements'): agreements which meant the submission of trade unions to the threats of employers and the new government, in order to fulfil the criteria of the Maastricht Agreement and monetary union.

In CITE, what did not change significantly with the new president was the close relationship of CITE with several 'foreign immigrants' organisations, such as Associació de Residents Senegalesos or Associació Catalunya-Líban. Some of CITE's advisors are executive members of immigrants' associations and in this way CITE's inter-associative links are quite deep, although not in an even way. With some immigrant associations, relations were more fluent than with others.

UGT of Catalonia created in 1993 what was intended to be the equivalent to CITE in CCOO under the name of Associació d'Ajuda Mutua d'Immigrants de Catalunya (AMIC). This body started the activities in an UGT office in Barcelona (currently located in Rambla Sta. Monica, in Ciutat Vella) and over time they have been slowly extending their influence. Mustafá El Kaissi, AMIC's coordinator since it was created, explained in an interview the office creation process in different localities, which was related to the funding available from city councils (in a similar way to CITE's territorialisation process, but more modestly with just seven offices in Catalonia as a whole):

"Dado que la asociación está en íntima relación con el sindicato, nosotros de entrada, no tenemos de entrada ningún problema para abrir una oficina en cualquier sitio. El sindicato tiene sus uniones en todo el territorio, esto nos facilita una estructura que no necesariamente está subvencionada por el ayuntamiento. A veces es a posteriori que viene la ayuda del ayuntamiento, siempre empezamos nosotros con algunas actividades determinadas, prestando unos servicios determinados, luego podemos entrar en una fase de negociación con el ayuntamiento, o firmar algún convenio, en tres años ya tenemos 7 oficinas, que están funcionando, y esto es una valoración que es muy positiva. No todos los ayuntamientos nos dan su soporte, no todos los municipios donde tenemos representación quiere decir que recibimos ayuda del ayuntamiento. En Lérida por ejemplo no recibimos nada, en Vilafranca tampoco, en Barcelona pues tampoco recibimos para el funcionamiento de la oficina. En Olesa sí y en Mollet sí ... en Badalona sí, el ayuntamiento de Badalona, son 8 oficinas bueno pero Badalona se abrirá en noviembre."¹⁹⁰

It should be taken into account that CITE and AMIC offices are visited very often by foreign workers as a result of the Foreigners' Law which in general inflates bureaucratic procedures. A vicious circle is created according to which the government

¹⁹⁰ Furthermore, AMIC opened an office in Mataró backed by the Diputació de Barcelona.

forces foreign workers to enter an administrative chain so complicated that it needs external help. Thus after pressure from social organisations, foreign workers count on the provision of help and juridical advisory services in the main trade unions and NGOs mainly funded by local governments. In between, the Labour department of the Generalitat de Catalunya just funds, basically, NGOs or trade unions to run training courses and vocational courses for foreign immigrants.

These networks of offices set up by mainstream trade union confederations, which provide advisory services for free, have created an entrance to trade unions for thousands of foreign workers who are living in Catalonia. The official figures of membership are not available to the public, but the qualitative information collected through interviews of CITE users shows how often people joins CCOO as a token of gratitude after the 'bureaucratic problems' have been solved.

Foreign immigrants who attend CITE or AMIC offices do so as service users and not as active workers who struggle for improving their social and labour situation. If a foreign worker wanted to be active, he or she could join trade union branches related to his/her economic activity and participate there. However, reality shows that the number of foreign workers who are trade union delegates is symbolic: in 1997 CCOO had one West African delegate in the agriculture federation (in Maresme), and a Moroccan delegate in the fishing branch. In UGT there were no foreign workers as trade union delegates at all. Taking such lack of foreign workers involvement in most trade unions general structures, it is curious that one of the most usual reproaches that FCIC receives from organisations that view it with distrust (such as mainstream trade unions and NGOs like SOS Racisme) is that it has among its members immigrants' collectives which are not very strong. Obam Mico replies:

"Lo que pasa es que si estos colectivos existen, no tenemos ningún criterio para preguntarles cuántos sois ... Pueden estar colectivos multitudinarios o colectivos con poca gente detrás, lo que nos interesan es que sean colectivos que trabajan en el tema de la inmigración, colectivos preocupados por la situación de los inmigrantes. Nuestro objetivo no es salir en los medios de comunicación... nuestro objetivo es trabajar muy lentamente, muy poco a poco, creando una estructura sólida, que trabaje con seriedad en el tema de la inmigración, no nos preocupa demasiado el número, pero sí la eficacia."

As previously mentioned, FCIC was created mainly by associations which appeared in the 1970s and 1980s (Equatorial-Guinean, from the South Cone of Latin America, the

Philippines, as well as a Moroccan one, the Averroes Centre). The member associations remained almost the same until 1996, when other associations more recently created began to join the FCIC. This new generation of associations has appeared since 1992: after the Foreign Workers' Extraordinary Regularisation which was ended by December 1991, after *Informe de Girona* publication (1992), after the killing of Lucrecia Pérez (1992), and during or after the post-Olympic economic restructuring (1992-1994).

Concretely, these associations appeared between 1992 and 1995, and they are associations with several differences between them and consisting of members from diverse origins. Some of them have almost no relationship with other social organisations, while most of them have relationships with trade unions, NGOs or other social organisations, but in general they maintain independence of action. Among them Associació de Residents Senegalesos (1992), l'Associació Dominicana (informally since 1992), Associació Socio-Cultural Ibn Batuta (1994), l'Associació Nahda (1994), Asociación de Trabajadores Inmigrantes Marroquíes en España-ATIME (created in Barcelona in 1994, but in Sta. Coloma de Gramanet in 1992¹⁹¹), Associació d'Immigrants Marroquins a Catalunya (which was created in Mataró in 1997 and by the time I was doing the fieldwork did not have a stable location in Barcelona¹⁹²). More recently there have been attempts to create associations based on foreign communities established from the middle 1990s onwards in Barcelona, such as the Poles¹⁹³. On the other hand, in this generation also appear women's associations, such as the Associació Ewaiso Ipola (1992) o l'Associació de Solidaridad con las Mujeres Inmigrantes de Perú en el Extranjero-ASOMIPEX (1995).

Associació Dominicana was founded by Dominican Republic immigrants who had been living for many years in Barcelona (mainly men), some of whom were dentists and

¹⁹¹ The first ATIME founded in Madrid in 1989. In Catalonia their first group was created in 1992 in Sta. Coloma de Gramanet.

¹⁹² AIMC is created from a group that had contacts with the Asociación de Emigrantes Marroquíes en España (AEME), placed mainly in Comunidad Autónoma de Madrid and created from a group of Moroccan people established during the 1980s in Lavapiés neighbourhood.

¹⁹³ In the Festa de la Diversitat of 1996 a small group of Polish people were participating and they distributed photocopies of a manuscript in which they asked all the Polish immigrants to organise a Polish immigrants' association in Barcelona. Thanks to Ian Smith (University of Warwick) and his partner for the translation of this document.

doctors. They represent a minority among the total residents with Dominican nationality (2,987 documented in Barcelona province in 1995). Most Dominican residents are women who have gained access to Spain by working in domestic service (like Filipino women), many of them via the workers' contingents or 'cupos', also called 'cupones' between applicants due to the arbitrariness with which they are given¹⁹⁴.

This Dominican association, now being administratively registered, is funded mainly through their own activities such as raffles and it was conducted by a management committee conformed by eleven people, in general with a high social and economic position in Barcelona and more than two years of residence in the city (one of the three coordinators of the association had been living for 35 years in Barcelona). This management committee has obtained direct support of forty people and in the activities of the association participation can amount to 300 or 400 people. The 'culturalist' component of leisure and education activities is emphasised by the leaders. It is curious that those who have been living in Barcelona for longer, being a minority (middle-aged men with professional jobs), are in fact educating the women who have just arrived about 'being Dominican'. In the association's coordinator Alberto Fernandez's words:

"Muchos de nuestros compatriotas son personas que no han tenido oportunidad de acceder a estudios... y entonces prácticamente es casi decirles de dónde venimos y lo que somos como dominicanos. Mantener esas raíces, tratar la integración en el medio en el que están pero no la aculturización. No nos interesan personas que llegan aquí i se conviertan en catalanes a los dos días, sino que primero aprendan a ser dominicanos, se integren en el medio en el que están, valoren una cosa y otra, y vivan en esa integración, pero sin perder sus raíces que es lo que hacen los catalanes cuando van a otra parte".

'Patronising' as a norm of behaviour is one of the criticisms that have been made of some social organisations involved in immigration issues, either among NGOs shaped mainly by locally born members or immigrant associations formed by people who have been living in Barcelona for many years. When we talk about difficulties in filling forms for applying for work permits and residence permits, Alberto Fernandez underlines that "the Dominican immigrant is almost a child, he/she arrives in a totally unknown milieu and for some time needs to be taken hand in hand". This patronising vision of the coordinator of the Dominican association is opposed to the promotion of activism previously noticed in Casa del Uruguay (although also it was an association with

¹⁹⁴ See article regarding this question in issue n. 23 of *Sudacas, la revista de la CLACA* (April 1997).

diverse political points of view among its membership). The difference between one kind of associations and the other one is not just 'cultural', but political. In this sense, in order to explain the implication of a few 'patriot' Dominicans in the creation of the association Alberto Fernandez says: "Entonces resulta que somos unos cuantos, que digamos que por patriotismo, porque tenemos más tiempo, porque tenemos más experiencia, queremos dedicar ese tiempo y esa experiencia en ello, pero somos... nada, cuatro gatos". In contrast to this, Casa del Uruguay was involved in the struggle against the military dictatorship and, despite the obvious changes over the years in its composition and orientation, the turn has not been of 180 degrees and it was quite different from the Associació Dominicana's orientation. Having said 'it was quite different', in the past tense, after the fieldwork was finished internal differences within Casa del Uruguay came to a rupture among its membership and the formation of another association of left-wing Uruguayan people, leaving as members of Casa del Uruguay a sector considered more 'conservative'. These transformations show how dynamic social reality is, in continuous change, due to the amount of internal and external contradictions among social organisations and of them with the rest of society and the system.

Another possible process of creation of foreign immigrant associations occurs when some immigrant people with previous involvement in NGOs or trade unions decide to create a new association. This was the case with Associació Socio-Cultural Ibn Batuta, created by several Moroccan people who had been collaborating in Bayt-Al Thaqafa or SOS Racisme or other Moroccan associations. What linked all these people was the will to focus their work mainly on an issue that had not been addressed yet: the growth of the so-called 'second generation'. It has to be taken into account that this association was created by Moroccan family men, who in a few cases have been living in Barcelona for more than 30 years. Again, for A.S.C. Ibn Batuta obtaining a proper meeting place was an essential aspect of their first steps as an association:

"Tres años y medio es nada, el primer año ya sabes, para juntarte, para hacer primero la publicidad a la asociación, no teníamos local, antes del primer año no teníamos este local, hacíamos las reuniones en bares, en casas y tal y tal, y despues ya al año siguiente ya tenemos la idea de buscar un local, porque no teníamos dinero, normal. Cuando ya vamos ayudando un poco entre nosotros hasta que cogimos este local y entonces ahí empezó: si tienes el local ya te olvidas

de preguntar si estamos en tal sitio, ¿no?, y ya saben, por ejemplo, estamos en la calle Balmes¹⁹⁵ ... y desde ahí, bueno, el 94-95 empezamos a trabajar con la segunda generación. Es que la idea de la asociación es trabajar con la segunda generación, gente que han nacido aquí, tal, hablar un poco de la cultura árabe, enseñar el árabe, dar clases por ejemplo, fiestas y todo eso. Y después también trabajar también con ... la primera generación, la gente que vinieron de Marruecos que normalmente no hablan castellano, catalán, damos también clases de catalán y castellano; que son voluntarios, tienes catalanes también que dan estas clases" (Ahmed Yafou)

Recently this association has even started an extension overseas and a small group of its members who went to Mallorca to work created a new group, conceived as an appendix to the A.S.C. Ibn Batuta in that island. However, one of the issues that this association wanted to resolve was children's low fluency (or even lack of knowledge) in Arabic:

"La mayoría de los inmigrantes, familias, te hablo de familias, son bereberes, la mayoría, el 70 por ciento de los inmigrantes marroquíes aquí son bereberes y en casa hablan en bereber, su madre y su padre hablan en bereber, pues ellos también hablan en bereber, y en la calle pues hablan castellano y catalán, en la escuela castellano y catalán, y el árabe pues mira, hay algunos que nada, nada, nada, te hablan en bereber y castellano y catalán, y en árabe te dicen algunas cosas, por ejemplo te saluda, y nada, dice bueno ya no se nada más, es un gran problema."

The person who expresses this, Ahmed Yafou - a member of the executive of the association - is Berber and he can speak the Berber language (Amazigh), but he considers that their children should be able to speak Arabic as well, because it is useful if they travel to Morocco. However, in the association there are no Berber language lessons. This is a complicated issue because Berber culture has been banned in Northern Morocco for decades. In contrast, there are other Moroccan associations that prefer boosting the Berber culture, such as the Associació d'Immigrants Marroquins a Catalunya (AIMC), which has its main site in Mataró and is one of the most recently registered Moroccan associations (Spring 1997).

Moroccan associations in Barcelona, as has been observed previously, are characterised by diverse divisions. One of them is whether they are linked or not to the consulate. ASC Ibn Batuta has been accused many times of being linked to the consulate in some interviews, but Ahmed Yafou replies saying that the only links they have had with the consulate are two: on the one hand, in their first year they applied for funding to the Moroccan Minister of Emigration in order to buy Arabic textbooks, but when they realised that it was only 50,000 pesetas per annum, and that they had to

¹⁹⁵ Concretely, at the bottom of carrer Balmes, close to Raval neighbourhood.

fill in a lot of forms and to celebrate 'national Moroccan' festivals in recompense, they decided not to apply for it. On the other hand, the second occasion when they had been linked to the consulate still remains: it was the acceptance of the services of an Arabic language lecturer who is a Moroccan civil servant attached to the consulate. For Ahmed Yafou there is a big difference between collaborating with the consulate and being part of it:

"Hay gente que confunde colaborar y ser de alguien, colaborar con el consulado y ser del consulado, es que la idea es eso, hay profesores ahí que hay que aprovechar. Esos profesores que estan ahí, en lugar que las clases las dan estudiantes, los estudiantes estan muy liaos con el trabajo, el laboratorio, no tienen tiempo, a veces terminan muy tarde. No sé, depende del trabajo, pero si el profesor está ahí, hay que aprovecharlo. Y fuimos y hablamos con él, es un profesor del Ministerio de Educación tiene la obligación de ir a buscar donde están los inmigrantes y darles las clases, que la idea es que vengan aquí a dar las clases, y aquí tenemos uno."

Opposed to such differentiation there are a number of associations like ATIME, Centro Averroes or AIMC which, beyond differences among them, share a political opposition to the Moroccan alauitan monarchy. And for them ASC Ibn Batuta, Nahda and Amical are seen as created by the consulate. In particular, Mohamed Derdabi, ATIME's secretary, in an interview considered them as "yellow associations". A similarly critical point of view was noted by Mohamed El-Mouhali, Centro Averroes' member, but he took his criticism further, accusing ASC Ibn Batuta, Nahda and Amical of being instruments of control, folklorists, and created in order to avoid consciousness among Moroccan immigrants and to impede them fighting to change their situation:

"Ibn Batuta, Amical, Nahda, o sea tienen nombres así muy bonitos, o sea eso, son asociaciones vinculadas al consulado, y son instrumento no policial pero casi policial: es para controlar a la gente inmigrante marroquí. No son asociaciones democráticas, son asociaciones así de tipo tribal o familiar, algunos son chivatos, hacian tasca de policía, de chivato, si estás involucrado en un partido político aquí se lo comunican enseguida al consulado. Y fomentan lo que es el folclorismo aquí ... Y no quieren que la gente inmigrante sea consciente de lo que está ocurriendo en todo el mundo, por tanto no te quieren ni ir a una manifestación de Chiapas, que Chiapas quiera decir algo para ellos, y si acabas con Chiapas mañana acabas con Marruecos, o montas algo contra Marruecos, contra el gobierno de Marruecos... Entonces ellos pretenden controlar todo eso, no dejar a la gente asociarse en otras asociaciones, y lo que hacen pues es eso, fomentar el folclorismo, traen grupos de Marruecos, fiestas de ramadán, no se que. O sea, no es lo que queremos... concienciar a las personas sobre su propia realidad, tanto aquí como allá."

Centro Averroes had its moment of maximum social leadership when in autumn 1992, a significant number of Moroccan people tried to cross the Gibraltar strait by

*pateras*¹⁹⁶ for the first time¹⁹⁷. Many of them died and others have died since then. The change of the Spanish visa policy (following Schengen agreement criteria) and the impact in Morocco of the world-wide economic re-structuring of the early 1990s are among the causes of such deaths. This global post-fordist economic re-structuring (also called 'crisis') fostered precariousness at work in Spain and encouraged thousands of Moroccan people to a desperate emigration who did not have alternative work in a labour market which had already become precarious¹⁹⁸. As a protest against those deaths, Centro Averroes, with the support of dozens of other social organisations, launched a demonstration in the Parc de la Ciutadella in Barcelona on November 15th 1992. The press release that this association published on those deaths included the following words:

"La multiplicación dramática de las muertes en el Estrecho, la llegada de "espaldas mojadas" que pierden la vida en las aguas del mar transformándolo en un cementerio para vivos,... Todo eso es una triste consecuencia de la situación caótica en el Magreb y del incremento de la miseria y de las injusticias sociales mantenidas por un orden económico mundial también profundamente injusto para la inmensa mayoría de la población del "Tercer Mundo". Las condiciones de "acogida" de estos refugiados económicos y sociales son desastrosas. Se quiere hacer de Europa una fortaleza trasladando el Muro de Berlín hacia la frontera sur de la Comunidad (Europea)"

However, all associations receive criticism. Thus ATIME-Catalunya is accused by other organisations of being not much more than a satellite branch of the association created with the same name in Madrid in 1989. However, the integration of ATIME-Catalunya in the Spain-wide organisation with the same name gives them a certain degree of autonomy which allows them have almost no relationship with AMIC, UGT-Catalunya's immigration branch, while in Madrid ATIME and UGT have close relations (in fact ATIME-Madrid was created from UGT). Despite all these differences, ATIME is a large and unique association with many local groups spread almost all over Spain.

¹⁹⁶ 'Pateras' are small boats used to cross from Northern Africa to Spain.

¹⁹⁷ History has its ironies. Some researches have recorded the massive emigration of impoverished Southern Spanish peasants to North Africa (what today is Morocco and Algeria) in small boats during the late 19th century, when France and Spain were fighting each other over the colonisation of North Africa [I am grateful to Ahmed Ihaddouten for his comments in this issue].

¹⁹⁸ As examples, in Spain, in December 1988 there was a general strike of 24 hours and in Spring 1992 another one of 12 hours, both called by the main trade unions against new government labour laws which involved cutting social benefits and worsening labour conditions.

Another Moroccan association with a referent in Madrid is AIMC, whose members consider the Asociación de Emigrantes Marroquies en España (AEME) members as comrades. However, in this case they are two independent organisations with good relations, in the framework of a wider European network inspired by the leadership of the former political prisoner who was in jail for the longest period under the rule of Hassan II¹⁹⁹: Abraham Serfati (he was released in 1991 after more than twenty years in prison; he currently lives in exile in Paris)²⁰⁰. These Moroccan associations have as trade union contacts in Spain the critical sector of CCOO and CGT, depending on the localities. In other words, organisational and political differences between AIMC and ATIME are quite clear.

In any case, the history, territorial extension and orientation of ATIME, according to Mohammed Derbadi, highlight a changing context during the early 1990s (confirming what has been already mentioned). Such transformations in the particular situation of Moroccan immigration have special features like the effects of the so-called Gulf War (1990-1991) and the bilateral policy between Morocco and Spain (and the EU) that often includes immigration issues on the table of negotiations:

“La asociación en Madrid se creó como una respuesta a la situación que vivían los inmigrantes, era una situación de marginación, de falta de documentación, de persecución diaria, ha habido mucha coincidencia. En los años 90 con la Guerra del Golfo, cuando había mucha persecución, poca gente que tenía documento, los expulsaban, entonces se creó como una respuesta a esta problemática, ¿no?. Tampoco ha habido muchas vías de legalización, mucha gente que venía desde Marruecos, entonces ha habido también coincidencias, también con la concesión masiva ... de pasaportes por parte de Marruecos, cuando España aún no imponía visados, y ha habido un crecimiento de los inmigrantes, en cualquier estadística se nota que a partir del 89 ha habido un aumento de extranjeros. Entonces se crea la asociación, hubo encierros de protesta, hubo proceso de regularización en el 91, y gente necesitaba apoyo, apoyo jurídico, apoyo, bueno la asociación se creó en este ambiente, aunque la asociación se crea en el 89, pero el trabajo masivo fue desde el 91-92. Y desde entonces en Valencia se crea la misma asociación, también en Murcia, y el trabajo empieza a madurarse. Desde que ha sido el principio, un trabajo reivindicativo, duramente. Reivindicamos la regularización, la documentación. Se ha cambiado un poco, se ha seguido su línea de reivindicación pero con propuestas, presentando alternativas, llegar a ser dialogante con la administración, llegar a prestar servicios.”

¹⁹⁹ Hassan II died in the summer of 1999, his son Mohammed VI is the successor.

²⁰⁰ After a while he published in France a book called *Inside the king's prisons*. See Serfati, A. (1992) *Dans les prisons du roi. Ecrits de Kenitra sur le Maroc*, Paris: Messidor.

7.2.5. From protest associations to service associations?

The previous paragraph shows another change detected in the history of several associations: from being ‘protest associations’ created to overcome situations considered unfair that had been provoked by governments (such as dedocumentation) or by capital (labour exploitation), some associations have been transformed into ‘service associations’ that receive funding from the same government that oppresses the same people they aim to serve. Furthermore, in this process the members of such associations often turn from comrades in struggle to ‘co-users’ of services. This is a process that was still exceptional among most immigrant associations in Barcelona because the funding they have received has been small, but it is a process that applies much more to NGOs run by local-born people or among trade unions. In fact, it is the same neoliberal model applied to other areas of Catalan society and in other European societies (Casey, 1996). According to this model the NGOs in general (and also QUANGOs) perform social tasks which during the application of Keynesian policies may have corresponded to governments. What changes with neoliberalism is that the government apparatus just performs the basic orientation of activities and the control of these tasks (an example previously noticed is the management of professional training courses by Generalitat de Catalunya), while the daily running of the activities is transferred to those social organisations willing to follow the government’s orientation (meaning by government both the central, autonomic or local one) and which allow themselves to be monitored by the government. This change is emphasised in ATIME regarding also to the ways of funding:

“En cuanto a las vías de financiación, esencialmente, hace dos años atrás ha sido de los socios, los peores años, porque hasta dos años no hubo apoyo por parte de la administración española. Pero poco a poco hemos ido demostrando capacidad de presentar proyectos, como ya te dije, que se cambió el trabajo de ser sólo reivindicativo a desarrollarse, a seguir con el mismo nivel de reivindicación, pero a presentar propuestas, a presentar proyectos...”

This complex balance between, on the one hand, obtaining funding for the provision of services and, on the other hand, the denunciation of unfair situations is one of the key

worries for GRAMC, which is the acronym for Grups de Recerca i Actuació sobre Minories Culturals i Treballadors Estrangers. GRAMC was constituted from a group created around the school Samba Kubali (Sta. Coloma de Farners) which was registered in 1989 in the Girona area. There was no GRAMC local group (*assemblea local*) in Barcelona until 1994. This NGO, which in 1997 had a 700-strong membership, is original in the Catalan context. GRAMC is defined as a network of over 12 grassroots local organisations and their main headquarters are located in Girona. Curiously, the Barcelona group is the smallest local assembly, and it performs very specific tasks:

“Lo que tiene de peculiar esta asociación es que funciona a nivel de asambleas locales, y entonces las asambleas locales, que la idea inicial es que fueran en la medida de lo posible asambleas mixtas, es decir que formaran parte de la asamblea gente del pueblo, pero gente inmigrante también ... El funcionamiento, o el trabajo fundamental de las asambleas, cada una mira lo que puede hacer o lo que más necesita, todas estas cosas, no es un funcionamiento igual en todas las asambleas, cada una detecta necesidades diferentes. A pesar de que funciona por asambleas, pues también hay una junta, una junta rectora, la sede central está en Girona ... Como asociación tiene que tener presidente, secretario, vocal y tal ... hay un representante de cada asamblea local, ahora mismo hay como unas 12-13 asambleas locales activas ... Salt, la de Sta. Coloma de Farners, la d'Olot, Palafrugell, Sant Feliu, Cassà de la Selva, Llagostera, Tordera, la d'Anglès ahora mismo no está activada del todo, y luego Barcelona, el Masnou y Teià, y en la zona de Castellón hay asambleas locales del GRAMC en Benicarló, Vinaròs i Peníscola²⁰¹” (Carmen Murias)

From a geographic point of view, GRAMC's territorial organisation has suffered interesting transformations due to their difficulties in coordinating the local actions with the actions at a supra-local level²⁰². This difficulty led them to experiment with the representation in the executive: from having one representative for each local group to having a representative for mid-level territorial areas composed of three or four local groups. The aim was to enhance the collaboration between local groups following geographical criteria (basically, proximity), but in most cases it did not work. Thus afterwards GRAMC adopted again a direct representation of the local groups in the executive, except in cases where regional co-ordinations worked well. In other words, flexibility at the territorial organisation level can be a solution for the difficult balance between local direct participation and supra-local co-ordination. Carmen Murias exposed these processes in the following way, regarding debates which had occurred several months before the interview in a general assembly of GRAMC in 1996:

²⁰¹ In the interview, she explained that in Reus there used to be a local group of GRAMC, but at the time of the interview it was working on its own, without much coordination with the rest.

²⁰² There are GRAMC local groups all along the Catalan coast and the North of País Valencià coast, from Costa Brava to Castelló.

-“la historia de las areas territoriales salió porque llegaba un momento en que las juntas eran muy numerosas, y entonces bueno parecía más una asamblea que una junta para tomar decisiones, era un poco difícil y tal, entonces se decidió un funcionamiento intermedio que fuera por areas territoriales, es decir, que se reunieran los de Castellón, los de Girona y que mandaran un representante a la junta y entonces no fuera tan numerosos. Pero lo que vimos es que las asambleas locales, geográficamente, era muy difícil de agruparlas, porque tenían más cosas en común con otras que no correspondían al criterio geográfico. Y esta vez, ... hemos llegado a la conclusión en la asamblea, que tenía que haber una participación más directa de las asambleas locales en la junta, que la mejor manera era que hubieran representantes directos de cada asamblea local, por lo tanto continuaran las áreas territoriales en aquellos sitios que funcionaban bien, que se veía que tenían algún sentido, y en los otros no”

- *por ejemplo, ¿por qué no funcionaban?*

-“porque por ejemplo geográficamente podían unirse asambleas que tenían una realidad y unas necesidades planteadas absolutamente diferentes, entonces los proyectos no podían ser comunes, se trataba de, en la medida de lo posible, unificar geográficamente pero también por proyectos”.

As noted above, the funding issue was being discussed in GRAMC. As opposed to many NGOs and trade unions that have assumed uncritically that the only way to proceed is to become an association that provides services, within GRAMC there was a debate between those members opposed to this ‘services’ option and those members aiming to organise training activities for social and personal transformation:

“Estamos en plena discusión, la verdad es que pues hemos sufrido una crisis de crecimiento, el GRAMC de ser pequeñito pasó a funcionar con muchas asambleas, a haber mucha gente, mucha gente alrededor y tal y hemos tenido una especie de crisis de crecimiento, que estamos saliendo de ella pero replanteándonos mogollón de cosas (...) en varios sentidos. De pronto, nos vimos que teníamos que hacer proyectos porque queríamos el dinero para ello, este es un tema, pues a veces a lo mejor además el dinero no venía para los proyectos que más te apetecían, sino para otros, tu sabes que las subvenciones no siempre dan un tema. Después, ahora mismo nos estamos replanteando casi todo, desde la forma organizativa a también el enfoque que le damos al trabajo de la inmigración y tal, estamos en plena reflexión, no se que saldrá de ello pero estamos en eso ... pues, ¿qué tipo de asociación tenemos que ser?, si tenemos que ser una asociación de servicios, pues si tenemos que ser una asociación de servicios en el sentido de montar desde cursos o tal, pues tenemos que hacerlo bien, tenemos que ser competitivos por así decir, no vale con ir con las pequeñas clases de voluntarios, porque, claro, frente a otras asociaciones o otras ONGs que te ofrecen cursos por todo lo alto no tienes nada que hacer. O si no queremos ser eso y queremos ser lo que en un principio siempre nos planteábamos, que éramos una asociación de, para cuestionarnos juntamente con los inmigrantes qué tipo de sociedad queremos, en este sentido sería más una asociación de concienciación, de formación para transformar, pero no formación tan pragmática como..., y estamos en eso, y en este año, pues empezamos a plantear estas discusiones en las últimas juntas y intentaremos redefinirnos como asociación... pasamos de ser fundamentalmente una asociación que trabajaba el tema de la formación como transformación, transformación personal y social, a después una asociación que recibió subvenciones para proyectos tal y entonces claro, casi casi una asociación de servicios.”

Thus from some GRAMC members was the comment that, in case of becoming a services association it was necessary to compete with other NGOs that provide services, such as the main trade unions, Caritas and SOS Racisme. The latter anti-racist association, after internal changes in 1994, adopted an organisational structure based

on business management. In this sense SOS Racisme, from having just a part-time administrative secretary as salaried worker in early 1992, according to Isidoro Barba in an interview, in 1997 had seven full-time employees. At the same time it created a 'human resources' section dedicated to looking after the salaried staff and coordinating volunteers who were interested in participating in the association. Another new section was dedicated to internal management, and new commissions for the 'control' of finance and personnel were set up (after the aforementioned previous internal troubles on budget issues). Furthermore, SOS Racisme fostered several remunerative services (such as merchandising, workshops, exhibitions, etc.) so their public funding amounts to only 55 percent of their budget²⁰³. In addition, the merchandising of the logo of this NGO has become another form of funding. In the issue published in February 1998 of the bulletin *Colors*, SOS Racisme announced the economic collaboration with the clothes big company *Mango*:

Mango ens va oferir la possibilitat d'inserir publicitat de SOS Racisme en els quatre catàlegs de roba que editen anualment - és a dir, la campanya tindrà un any de durada coincidint amb les quatre properes temporades - així com de posar a la venda a totes les botigues que tenen a l'Estat una sèrie de complements dissenyats amb el logotip de SOS Racisme - un necesser, unes arracades i un penjoll-, el benefici net dels quals anirà destinat al finançament de l'Informe Anual contra el Racisme a l'Estat Espanyol.

The economical extension of SOS Racisme had been also accompanied by a territorial extension that has been varying over time, with some groups appearing and disappearing. In early 1998 there were, apart from the people who meet in the headquarters in Barcelona city centre, nine local groups distributed in the following localities: St. Andreu del Palomar (Barcelona), Castelldefels, El Prat de Llobregat and Viladecans (Baix Llobregat), Mataro (Maresme), Blanes (la Selva), Tarragona (Tarragones) and Reus (Baix Camp).

In any case, the debate started in GRAMC did not occur in SOS Racisme owing to their lack of an organisational structure that could enable debate and the decision-making process from the bottom up as in GRAMC. The minor territorialisation of SOS Racisme in relation to GRAMC, while SOS Racisme possesses more resources and a

²⁰³ The deficit of internal democracy pointed out in 1994, which led some people and collectives to leave SOS Racisme, was attempted to be corrected with the boost of the *Consell Nacional* (National Council) as the most important ruling body in the association.

higher budget than GRAMC²⁰⁴, can be considered another confirmation of the minor interest of the more centralised 'anti-racist' association for reaching a horizontal grassroots development.

Following this organisational geography debate but in contrast to these large networks, a multi-organisational local project was set up. In 1993 some NGOs oriented mainly towards North-South co-operation initiated the 'Xenophilia project' (*Projecte Xenofilia*) with the desire of becoming a local project, situated within Ciutat Vella district limits. It has its main site in Avinyó street, in the Gothic neighbourhood. There were thirty people working in the project, almost all of them volunteers, although when they obtained enough funding²⁰⁵ they employed somebody as part-time and temporary worker (at some points there have been as many as three or four full-time employees, always in a semi-professional way). The outline of this project was published in 1994 in the collective book *Extranjeros en el paraíso*²⁰⁶:

La línea de actuación política del Proyecto Xenofilia, en el cual trabajan personas de diferentes culturas, no persigue los objetivos de la <<integración>> (¿quien tendría que integrarse a qué?) pues entendemos que ellos son nuestros vecinos y están aquí por derecho propio, y que es un imperativo de la convivencia aprender a ser tolerantes y respetuosos con lo que nos es diferente, sin pretender asimilarlo. Pero al mismo tiempo nos negamos a dejarlos a su <<diferencia>>, segregándolos en un mundo separado y distante al del resto de la población; es necesario que la población inmigrante encuentre su lugar en la esfera pública de la ciudadanía ... En definitiva, no perseguimos otro objetivo político que no sea el compromiso con los inmigrantes extranjeros y la consecución efectiva de una ciudadanía multicultural que enriquezca la vida (plural) de nuestra sociedad.

With these aims, the boundaries in which they have performed have been the following: juridical (although it is not their priority because other organisations already cover this area), women (including a course on becoming community agents for immigrant women, and a training workshop on resources and environmental knowledge), mediation (including a Servei d'Atenció i Mediació Intercultural in order to mediate between immigrants and public administrations, social services, schools, etc.), housing (including a Servei de Suport al Lloguer d'Habitatges, where they give

²⁰⁴ From SOS Racisme it is said that they have 3,000 members in Catalonia, while GRAMC is said to have around 700 members.

²⁰⁵ They have received funding from the following organisations: Direcció General de Migracions of the disappeared, Ministerio de Asuntos Sociales, Àrea d'Afers Socials de l'Ajuntament de Barcelona, Districte de Ciutat Vella, Fundació de Serveis de Cultura Popular, Ministerio de Trabajo, European Union, and MMAMB. In contrast to SOS Racisme but in the same situation to FCIC, the Generalitat de Catalunya had not given any funding to them.

²⁰⁶ VVAA (1994) *Extranjeros en el paraíso*, Barcelona: Virus.

information on flats to rent and help in the research, give advice about contracts, produce statistics on housing conditions, and help to find resources to pay the rent or reforms), training (including IT, hotel and restaurant jobs, legal advice, social facilities, introduction to media, and technical training courses on mediation for foreign immigrants). At this local level, the Xenophilia project saw results when some police aggression against foreign neighbours took place and immediately a platform of organisations and neighbours was created to support the victims. However, recent public funding shortages may put an end to this project.

7.2.6. Immigrant women on their own social movements

Among the associations which appeared during the 1990s, as noted before, there are foreign immigrant women's groups and associations. Already mentioned is the American and International Women's Club but, as will be argued in the following pages, this club has little in common with other immigrant women's associations. There are three different kinds of immigrant women from impoverished countries, and an example of each type could be the Associació E'Waiso Ipola, the women's group within CLACA, and the collective Al-Wafa. The first two have been members of FCIC almost from the beginning, while Al-Wafa is one of the new adhesions post-1996.

E'Waiso Ipola in Bubi's language means 'Woman: wake up, liven up, fight'. Bubi is the language of Bioko Island, located in the Guinean Gulf (under Spanish colonialism it was called Fernando Po island). Associació Ewaiso Ipola is a group created in 1991 by Guinean women from this island (and later other women joined them including a Brazilian and a Colombian). Their main aim is to promote training, in order to promote themselves personally and to participate in the ambit of Catalan women. In this sense, they organise and attend courses, debates, and conferences (some of them in other European countries), but they also organise cultural activities such as a ballet group, singing courses and the publication of a magazine.

The association Ewaiso Ipola was not one of the foundation members of FCIC, but they joined it a short time after its creation, being one of the 14 association members of

the federation during the early period between 1992 and 1996. Joining the FCIC was a big step, mainly due to their participation in the women's group of the federation. In the words of Irene Yamba, one the foundation members of E'Waiso Ipola:

"Al meternos en la Federación de Colectivos de Inmigrantes de Catalunya, quizás ahí hemos ido a más trabajo, si quieres porqué ya a parte de formarnos, promocionarnos y de participar, pues colaboramos activamente con la Federación de Colectivos de Inmigrantes y dentro de esa federación hay un grupo de mujeres inmigrantes, y también estamos activamente en este grupo (de mujeres) y ese grupo colabora directamente con las otras asociaciones de mujeres autóctonas del país ... Con las otras mujeres de la federación ... a parte de en la federación estan todas en sus asociaciones, algunas estan con hombres y mujeres, ... cada año nos marcamos una meta, entonces nos encontramos una vez al año todas, nos vemos un día entero o dos, pues tratando de ver que problemas realmente tenemos, cuales son las necesidades más urgentes y como podemos presentarlo a las distintas entidades a las que vamos. Por ejemplo, yo soy miembro del Consell d'Immigració de la Generalitat de Catalunya, ya lo sabes, entonces según que problema lo planteo en el Consell, y también soy miembro del Consell que está ahora el Ayuntamiento de Barcelona, o sea, formo parte de los miembros fundadores, entonces, según que problemas igual los planteo a nivel del Ayuntamiento, aunque con el Ayuntamiento de Barcelona hemos tenido mucha relación desde el principio, de manera que siempre los problemas los hemos planteado. O sea, no, no es que hayamos empezado ahora con el Consell que se está montando, sino que ya llevamos tiempo."

Among the most recent activities performed by the Women's Commission of the FCIC in the frame of the general women's movement in Barcelona, the participation with their own report (one of the five existing) in the 1st Congress of Women in Barcelona can be underlined²⁰⁷. In the report called *Mujeres migrantes* they discussed the diversity of situations in which these women get involved (due to different reasons for moving, the different situations before migration and once they have arrived in Barcelona, etc.) as well as common elements (the normative, legal and cohabitation problems). In the report they also analysed the spaces and times where women are:

Ninguna ciudad "pertenece" por igual a todas y a todos sus habitantes. De alguna manera nos encontramos "acotados" y limitados en ella. Esta constatación no niega que, por momentos, nos "propiemos" y nos movamos en cualquier espacio de ella. Es decir, nos desplazamos pero no vivimos en toda la ciudad. ...

Se da la tendencia en Barcelona a concentrarse en algunos barrios, como por ejemplo el Raval y Nou Barris. Su actividad laboral se desarrolla en toda Barcelona, fundamentalment en los barrios altos de cara al mundo familiar, principalmente en las labores domésticas o en el cuidado y atención de personas mayores y enfermas.

Participan y estan en otros lugares en actividades de índole asociativa y lúdica: centros cívicos de sus barrios, incluso en aquellos donde se les oferta formación, aunque no estén situados en las zonas donde habitualmente de mueven.

Otros espacios la costumbre los va convirtiendo en suyos. ... Tal es el caso, a mencionar por lo novedoso, de la plaza del Centro de Arte y Cultura contemporanea de Barcelona. La presencia de mujeres magrebíes y sus hijos/as, a partir de las horas de la tarde va constituyendose en un hecho habitual ...

²⁰⁷ See the report of the Comissió de Dones de la FCIC in the *I Congrés de les Dones de Barcelona*, which took place on 15-16 January 1999 (Web address: <http://www.bcn.es/congresdones>).

Como gotas de aceite en el agua aparecen ya también en los espacios ganados por la economía informal en algunas calles y metros de la ciudad.

Si rastreamos el uso del tiempo nos encontramos que el que disponemos para sí mismo es mínimo, po no decir nulo, y que las horas ganadas a encuentros asociativos y lúdicos es a costa de menguar horas de descanso y sueño

FCIC's women also deal with other issues, such as women's access to the media, the services they need (mainly those related to housing, education, and health), as well as the participation of women in Barcelona's society. In this sense, the Comissió de Dones de la FCIC noted that, like most of Barcelona's citizens, the participation of immigrant women in the elaboration of the models used to manage the city's development is very low, and because of the fact that they are foreign immigrants their chances are even less than the rest. The creation of the Comissió de Dones de la FCIC is identified by Elsa López, member of CLACA and one of the foundation members of this FCIC commission, with the increasing female presence among 'foreign immigration' in Barcelona:

“Se crea durante una Asamblea General de la federación donde se forman diferentes comisiones y en una de ellas se creía específico que dada la grande afluencia que empezaba a tener de mujeres inmigrantes de otros países, era necesidad, así, de tomar el tema específico de la mujer inmigrante. Entonces se crea lo que en su momento llamamos secretaría de la mujer y que está funcionando hasta ahora, es decir, esto tenía la justificación en que si bien es cierto que antes había una inmigración que era básicamente masculina y la mujer sólo venía por reagrupación familiar, menos el caso del colectivo filipino que siempre han sido de mujeres, empieza a darse un cambio en la inmigración, empieza a tener signo femenino, y entonces empiezan a aparecer otros problemas que no habian aparecido. Coincidiendo con la formación de esto es que también supongo que desde las administraciones empiezan a notar la mayor presencia de mujeres y se hacen las primeras jornadas de inmigración de la mujer inmigrante, que eran con el título de ‘La mujer inmigrante rompe su invisibilidad’, es decir, fue realmente la primera reunión en donde se pudo ver la participación y escuchar la voz de la mujer inmigrante, porque hasta ahora siempre se ha hablado del trabajador inmigrante nunca de la mujer.”

Those days-schools (*Jornades*) on immigrant women were organised in 1993 by the Ajuntament de Barcelona, and the FCIC's women's group was invited to participate there. This fact gave an impulse to the women's group to work in the federation:

“Estas jornadas, por la masividad que tuvo la propaganda, el hecho de que se hiciera en un lugar así emblemático, como es el Centre de la Caritat, en Barcelona, y con bastante propaganda digamos, este, impulsó a las mujeres inmigrantes que estábamos trabajando aquí. Sobre todo había un tema que estaba faltando en Barcelona y que era el asociacionismo de mujeres inmigrantes, porque había muy pocas asociaciones. Primero fueron las mujeres gambianas, Musa Kafo, yo creo que fueron las pioneras, luego las de E'Waiso Ipola, y luego nos constituimos nosotros que somos una asociación mixta, la CLACA, nos constituimos como grupo de mujeres latinoamericanas, pero hasta entonces no existían y a partir de ahí se han ido creando más asociaciones de mujeres, o sea que yo creo que las jornadas, fue un impulso. Se vio como asociándose las mujeres podían conseguir más cosas, ¿no?. De hecho, esta comisión ha seguido teniendo un funcionamiento como te decía antes, no estábamos totalmente conformes con el resultado de las jornadas, porque había

un pedido que era clave para nosotras que era la Casa de la Mujer Inmigrante, que hubiera sido un proyecto a elaborar, pero que la intención era dar un soporte a que esa mujer inmigrante que llega, que aterriza y que no sabe a quien dirigirse, no?. Esto también hubiera permitido que fuera la casa donde puedan las mujeres encontrar soporte para asociaciones, legalización de papeles y de todo esto, pero bueno, esto no ha sido posible, no hemos abandonado el proyecto, pero si hemos podido encarar otros proyectos como el que te comentaba de la Guía de la Mujer Inmigrante, que está a punto de dar a luz.” (Elsa López)

The project of an Immigrant Women's House (*Casa de la Dona Immigrant*) mentioned by Elsa López has not been implemented yet. The option adopted by several 'foreign immigrant' women's associations (particularly E'Waiso Ipola, ASOMIPEX, Al-Wafa, Grup de Dones Filipines) has been to participate in *Ca la Dona*, a women's place in the city centre created as a result of a long women's struggle²⁰⁸. The search for women's spaces in Barcelona has a history which began, at least, in the late nineteenth century. Thus in 1889 the Societat Autònoma de Dones de Barcelona was created, and during its early days it was located in carrer Cadena, in the core of Raval neighbourhood. More recently, in 1988, *Ca la Dona* was inaugurated, first located in Gran Via (near carrer Urgell) and it is currently placed in carrer Casp. The specific origin of this place was during the gathering organised in order to celebrate the tenth anniversary of the feminist movement (*10 anys de Lluita del Moviment Feminista*) which occurred in November 1985 at Llars Mundet in Barcelona. There the initiative of obtaining a space for women in Barcelona was re-adopted by the feminist movement (after a few ephemeral women's spaces in the late 1970s). After many unfruitful meetings and failed promises from the Ajuntament de Barcelona, on 19 March 1987 in an assembly at the FAVB headquarters, the decision of squatting a public building owned by the Ajuntament de Barcelona was taken. The place to be squatted was located in carrer Font Honrada (Poble Sec) and the action was carried out two days later by one hundred women. It lasted 11 days, until the then Mayor Pasqual Maragall ordered forty *Guardia Urbana* policemen to clear the house with tear gas. However, protests continued until public funding was conceded in order to rent a flat, which became *Ca la Dona*, as a physical and symbolic space for individual women and groups involved in the feminist movement, open to all women, and with an organisational model where all decisions are made collectively.

²⁰⁸ See the booklet called *Ca la Dona*, issue number 50 of *Experiències de Pedagogia Social*, published by the Fundació Serveis de Cultura Popular in 1997.

One of the contributions of *Ca la Dona* to the previous documents of the *I Congrés de les Dones de Barcelona* was a report called 'Let us transform the city by valuing women's participation', in which they created a provisional definition of 'participation', in the following terms: 'We understand participation as any activity, action or decision that influences the construction of our society; in this case: the city of Barcelona'. They consider that the discussion regarding participation of women needs to be held in depth about different spaces. In this sense, they establish five spaces-ambits where they think women are present and where it would be worthwhile to reflect about their role and the social impact of their participation: private spaces of social relationship (family and friendship), 'public' spaces of social relationships (waged work, study, leisure time), women's movement, social movements, and institutions.

Among the women's groups that meet and perform activities in *Ca la Dona*, as noted above, there is Al-Wafa, a group of Moroccan women that has existed since November 1995. The group, initially formed by six women, emerged after they participated together in a workshop on family planning in Drassanes Health Centre, and also due to the fact that there some of them were asked to translate a health information leaflet into Arabic. The main aim of Al-Wafa is to find better jobs and in order to achieve this they decided to create a cooperative to make Arabic pastries. During the early days they used to meet in SOS Racisme's headquarters (in Escudellers Blancs, Gothic neighbourhood), until they found out about the possibility of using *Ca la Dona* as meeting-place and then they moved there. Over the years they have organised many workshops and they have participated in many day-schools in which they have explained all their experiences and where they have shown their gastronomic art. In this sense, they also published a book on Moroccan cuisine with Editorial Icaria in 1996, as part of the collection *Cocinas de Allí, Aquí*. Although they have had the voluntary help of a social assistant, they have not managed to fulfil all the procedures needed for registering themselves as an association. One of their targets is to manage to open their own place where they could develop their activities, with which they think they earn a living.

The members of Al-Wafa consider themselves as Muslim although, as in most religions and societies where these are professed, they have different ways of dealing with their religiosity. For example, some are regular prayers and some other are not, some of them wear headscarves and some do not. In the following pages relations between religions and immigration are examined.

7.2.7 Religions, foreign immigration and social organisations

The religious issue is also a subject complex enough that it requires care in order to avoid stereotypes and prejudices. In theory, Spain is a lay country in which religious organisations such as the Centro Filipino (linked to the Catholic Church) should have the same treatment from the public administrations as collectives like the Centro Islámico o Asamblea Evangélica Filipina, as they are groups formed by a significant proportion of ‘foreign immigrants’. However, sometimes there are variations on what happens in practice.

In the case of the Filipino community, regarding the value of support received from the Catholic Church, Father Avelino Sapida (leader of Centro Filipino-Asociación de Inmigrantes Filipinos de Barcelona) considered that he had been the ‘back’ who initiated the claim for Filipino immigrants’ rights in Barcelona:

“El proceso de organización necesita una espalda para iniciar el proceso de asociativismo y la reclamación de derechos y, una orientación más clara de las reivindicaciones. Clarificar las verdaderas demandas sociales de nuestra gente. Cuando llegué aquí ya habían asociaciones filipinas, pero orientadas más a las actividades culturales y fiestas de carácter social, pero sin un trasfondo reivindicativo y de mejoramiento de la situación social. También queríamos trabajar en la preservación de nuestras raíces culturales, sobretodo orientándola a la segunda generación nacida aquí.”

Recently, a fact has confirmed that the back is still standing: this religious Filipino man has managed to convince the Archbishop of Barcelona to create, for the first time in Europe, a church for the Catholic Filipino immigrants. This church will probably be created in the Raval neighbourhood, where most of the community live, and in this way, they will be able to listen more often to religious masses in their own Tagalo

language. According to Avelino Sapida, they will not isolate themselves from society, because they will also celebrate masses in Catalan and Spanish languages²⁰⁹.

Caritas has very good relations with Centro Filipino which, as previously noted, can be considered the first NGO that assisted foreign immigrants coming from impoverished countries to Barcelona. Caritas was created on the basis of Christian charity work developed by the Catholic church centuries ago, but it was after World War II, in 1947, when Caritas started being a reality, with organisations in most European countries, and with the support of a higher amount of Catholic believers. In the early 'foreign immigration' years (1980s), the arrival of a significant number of immigrants was assisted by the *Comissió Diocesana de Migracions*, a body linked to the Barcelona's Bishop but independent of Caritas. That was a period when SAIER (*Servei d'Atenció a Immigrants Estrangers i Refugiats*)²¹⁰ still had not been set up. It was in the 1990s when Caritas began to deal directly in assistance to foreign immigrants, with the creation of a *Servei de Migracions* (Migration services). The area where this service acts is the diocese, a unique territorial body with original borders used by the Catholic church. In the case of Barcelona it covers the following *comarques*: Barcelonès, Baix Llobregat, Garraf, Alt Penedès, nearly all the Vallés Oriental, Baix Maresme, and South-Eastern Anoia. In Barcelona, Caritas' Migrations Services has its headquarters in a flat located in carrer Princesa (Casc Antic) which is shared with other Caritas services.

In the early 1980s, the only requirement that *Comissió Diocesana de Migracions* asked of immigrants in order to be assisted was the fact of being foreigners from impoverished countries²¹¹, regardless of whether they were documented or de-documented. What they carried out was social assistance, juridical advice and information on resources. The main criteria followed was to avoid the duplicity of services with the City Council or other organisations. This criterion has remained. Currently what has changed are, on the one hand, nationalities of the people assisted

²⁰⁹ See *El Periódico*, 11-9-1998.

²¹⁰ SAIER was created by l'Ajuntament de Barcelona in 1990 as a service containing, in Espanya Square, CITE, ACSAR, the Col·legi d'Advocats and the Red Cross.

²¹¹ In their own terminology, it included 'third world countries and Portugal'.

(before they were mainly from sub-Saharan Africa, but later also from Morocco and Latin America²¹²) and, on the other hand, the *place* of the provision of services.

This latter variation of where to provide services performed by Caritas shows again how the geographic side of a social organisation is a key issue in improving the outcome of its activities. In this sense, in 1995, after some time after the incorporation of assistance to immigrants in Caritas's tasks, when Àlex Masllorens left the coordination post and Lourdes Astigarraga took it, many services began to be provided in the neighbourhoods (previously, all services had been provided from the headquarters). This internal transformation was due to a process in the Migrations Service that, according to the new coordinator, happened because they were focusing on creating special resources for poor immigrants that were isolating them from the rest of society. Thus later they considered that probably it would be better to assist immigrants in the neighbourhoods, and that would be better to become a specialised service that would give advice to the neighbourhoods in order to provide information about specific courses and contributing with resources exclusively for immigrants.

This special resources provided from the headquarters included juridical advice, literacy courses, training for Caritas volunteers on immigration issues, etc. On the other hand, it is possible to notice a certain over-representation of immigrants in some Caritas general activities. Thus, although the vocational training courses (the unemployment programme) are not designed for immigrants, but for everybody, the reality is that in some of them the users are mainly immigrants, especially in training courses on construction.

In Caritas Migration Service there are four full-time paid workers: two social assistants, a lawyer and a translator, all Iberian-born. There is also a receptionist with Moroccan origin. Regarding the volunteers, they are random according to a given moment, for example, in a literacy course there were five. Normally this figure is very close to the average in the service, but then in the neighbourhoods there are more volunteers.

²¹² See Appendix for a list of the origin of Caritas services users.

Alongside the associations dealt with above, there are some others which have been left to one side. There are, for example, collectives such as Centro Islámico and Asamblea Evangélica, because they do not consider themselves 'associations', but a 'community' or a 'church'. This statement is defended by a member of the Islamic Centre in the following way:

"- per nosaltres el concepte d'associació no entra en el nostre esquema, associació és més en plan d'un grup contra un altre, associar-se, per què? si tots som iguals, associar-nos per fer una associació contra un altre no, associar-se no entra en el nostre esquema"

- ja, però associar-se pot ser per fer més coses, no per enfrontar-se, sinó per unir forces...

"- per unir forces, associar-se... això és un... bueno, és un... però nosaltres estem sempre en ajuda un a altre, no cal ser associat, els de l'associació no dona ajuda a un altre fora de l'associació, però nosaltres com que som tots, tots, no pots considerar com una associació, però tots entre tots, perquè tots els amics que té un senyor d'Arabia, o de Marroc, o d'Argelia, o de qualsevol puesto, bueno, ell dona l'ajuda i l'orientació que necessita, no cal que sigui una associació de Sirians de Barcelona, o una associació de Marroquins de Barcelona, això és una associació, però si tots som iguals. O consideres tot és una associació o tot no és una associació,... som persones, no sé quina paraula, es... no és una associació, és una comunitat, és una comunitat més que una associació, però entre tots. Associar-se és més una cosa d'un profit polític, és un profit econòmic,... associar-te, que tenen que fer una associació per demanar ajudes, però després es troben quatre o cinc més que es troben en una associació en un altre lloc que demanenen ajudes, i uns tercers també, això és una tomadura de pèl, l'associació per nosaltres no existeix. Això sí, com a comunitat tenim obligacions, l'obligació d'acoblar-nos a lo màxim de la societat que estem, respectar totalment i fer respectar-nos, respectar la gent i fer que la gent et respecti, no? aquesta és l'obligació de cada persona de la comunitat, no és de l'associació"

The Islamic Centre, located in Avenida Meridiana, in one entry to Barcelona by road and close to two tube stations, was created in the 1970s and since then it has not changed very much. In this member's (translated) words: "Unfortunately it is very steady, there is no evolution, exactly the same things that were done in 1978 are done right now, there is no updating, no opening". During the performance of the second fieldwork in Barcelona, however, the Islamic Centre was undergoing some changes, the Imam that there was at that moment was coming from Madrid every Friday and, therefore the centre was only open this day of the week, except when there was another specific religious celebration. Mobility of the religious responsible people of monotheist religions is a fact to be underlined, in this case, his origin was Syria, but after some years living in Spain, he moved to live for some years in Argentina (paid by an Islamic organisation from Kuwait), and later he returned to Spain.

In Barcelona, apart from the Islamic Centre, there are some other sacred Muslim places, such as the mosque Toarek Ben Ziad, placed in the carrer Hospital (in Raval neighbourhood) and which is mainly visited by Moroccan immigrants.

Similarly, regarding a group of evangelical Filipino people, established in Barcelona since spring 1997 in Raval, the names used to describe themselves are ‘church’ or ‘gospel assembly’:

“We have many different names, but we are united, *unidad*, no?, *unidad*, we have *fraternidad*, we have *fraternidad*, but we have, in our group in my country we have, we called that mother church, because we come from that church we call ‘Jesus Our Hope International Assemblies’, and other churches are called ‘Jesus is Lord’, ‘Jesus is alive’ so it changes every name, other churches, we have *unidad* with Methodist church, Presbyterian church, Baptist church, and Pentecostal church, Assemblies of God, *aquí* the Asamblea de Dios, Filadelfia, *son muchas...*, Bautistas...”

Asamblea Evangélica Filipina was formed by a couple of pastors and a flock of around fifteen people: “Because I’m a missionary, a missionary opens a mission and then somebody will take the sheep... in other words, a pastor looks after his sheep, my job is just to open and that is all”. She had preached the gospel in the past in localities placed in an area controlled by pro-Communist guerrillas in the Philippines, the New People’s Army, aiming to stop peasants from supporting the uprising. Once what she considered a ‘communist threat’ had disappeared (“is not that *peligro* as before”) they moved to work to Saudi Arabia and from there to Barcelona, via Germany and Marbella. They did not have any problems in getting a residence and work permit, due to the religious specific legislation:

“The ‘cupos’ is different for us, because we are sent by Mission, so our residency... was for the church, but when we came here, we got the work-permit, the ‘cupos’ is different, the ‘cupos’ are for people, unskilled workers...”

-Then, you are not in the ordinary ‘cupos’...

“No, no, we are not, we are in the social assistance, ‘asistencia social’, it’s like ‘asuntos sociales’, we are like social workers here, because we are working for social, we are working for people, but we can get jobs, we can also work, other kinds of work, but maybe our visa here is for the Ministry, for the ‘Ministerio de Sacerdotales o Sociales’ esta.”

Once in Barcelona, these pastors opened a local mission where they lived with their kids and where they developed their religious acts. From Caritas, Lourdes Astigarraga had already noted in 1996 in one of the interviews, the growing influence of Protestant churches among ‘foreign immigrant’ communities which did not like Catholics. The decision of the Arquebisbat de Barcelona of creating a church for Catholic Filipino people cannot be detached from this growing influence of other Christian religions. And not only among Filipinos, during the fieldwork performed in 1997, I interviewed several Latin American immigrant users of the services provided by CITE and this growth of evangelical influence was confirmed by them. In fact, they explained how

once they had arrived in Barcelona they looked for support from these churches to guide them within the city. On the other hand evangelical religions are also significant among the Chinese community, as the masses celebrated in an Evangelical church in carrer Aragó (Esquerra de l'Eixample) illustrate. Regarding the international scope that religious organisations have, in the case of the Chinese community in Barcelona, at the moment of contacting them, a preacher had just arrived from New York, where he had been working for some time.

Beyond religions, other groups have seen in the immigration coming from impoverished countries an object for their activities. In this sense, a movement considered in Spain as a sect by several sources, is the so-called Humanist party, launched in early 1996 a campaign to enrol volunteers in order to create a magazine *Revista de Emigración de Europa del Este* in Barcelona. And this is not an isolated case, in Raval there has been running a similar magazine but directed towards a wider range of foreign immigrants.

Religious groups in Barcelona are becoming more diverse, and these examples are just a small part of the existing diversity. Limiting them to foreign immigrants would be a mistake, many of the citizens who attend there are Catalans born in Barcelona or other regions with Spanish nationality. However, it is true that some religious places, including some Catholic ones, attract a number of 'foreign immigrants', as well as other 'national' citizens.

An accurate research in the City Council records led, apart from the religious centres already mentioned, to a wide range of religious cult centres, some of which include beliefs, origins and locations related to collectives previously commented on and considered as middle-high class. Among them are: Església Sta. Maria Reina (placed in Pedralbes, in Les Corts district, and where there are catholic masses in English), Església de la Comunitat Evangèlica Alemanya-Deutsche Evangelica (Lutheran cult, located in Sarrià-St.Gervasi), St. George's Church (attended by the believers of the Church of England, it is located again in Sarrià-St.Gervasi), and the two French parishes dedicated to Mare de Déu de Lourdes (located in Sarrià-St.Gervasi). Regarding the Jewish cult centres, the synagogue of the Comunitat Israelita and the

Comunitat Jueva ATID-Catalunya are placed again in the same district of Sarrià-St.Gervasi.

This confirms what was pointed out in a previous chapter: foreign people from upper classes who come from rich countries live and develop part of their social life (in this case attending religious centres) in the neighbourhoods where the rich local people live.

Religious diversity goes even further and other cult centres can be found where communities are difficult to classify in terms of social class without specific research in the subject. Among them the following ones can be mentioned: Associació Cultural Hindu Gurdwara (placed in the Sants neighbourhood and where Indian immigrants may attend), Església Ortodoxa Apostòlica d'Antioquena (located in Avinguda Meridiana, in Clot, and where immigrants from Eastern Europe may attend), Església Ortodoxa de Protecció a la Mare de Déu (located in Esquerra de l'Eixample which is also visited by Eastern European immigrants).

7.2.8. Trade unionism and 'foreign immigration' in the late 1990s

In the late 1990s, other transformations have occurred on the trade unions map. As a result of the orientations adopted by the main trade union confederations (CCOO, UGT), during the 1990s, a small and slow but also steady, growth of other trade unions has taken place, such as the case of the Confederació General del Treball (CGT) and the Unió Sindical Obrera de Catalunya (USOC), as well as quite a few branch trade unions²¹³ and independent candidatures (non members). A comparison with the electoral data²¹⁴ of 1990 and 1995 confirms that:

²¹³ As previously commented, during the fieldwork in Autumn 1997, some branch unions (among them USTEC) met in order to create Intersindical Alternativa.

²¹⁴ It should be taken into account that not all workers can participate in trade union elections, and the increasing labour precariousness makes impossible its celebration in many companies. In this sense, in 1995 elections there were 831,827 electors in Catalonia, from a total working population of 2,132,300 people that year (unemployed people are not taken into account in the electoral census).

Trade union elections results. Catalonia. 1990 to 1995.

	1990	1995
CCOO	16.753	15.563
UGT	15.366	12.577
USO	1.468	1.809
CGT	558	586
Independent	2.577	2.646
Others	1.244	2.975
Total elected	37.966	36.156

Sources: *Xifres de Catalunya*, Barcelona: Diputacio de Barcelona, 1996. *Anuari Estadistic de la ciutat de Barcelona* 1996, Barcelona: Ajuntament de Barcelona, 1997.

In this context where there is a growth of smaller unions (and consolidation of ‘foreign immigrants’ arrivals), on the one hand, in early 1996 CGT created *Portes Obertes* and, on the other hand, USOC created an immigration department in late 1996.

CGT emerged from a split of CNT in the 1980s, when a significant sector of this historic anarcho-syndicalist trade union went for participation in trade union elections, creating CGT. Another sector kept the historical name and the rest stuck to the direct action option, avoiding any participation in elections. CNT survived that split in the 1980s, as well as two other divisions during the 1990s, and nowadays still remains active, although its capacity has been dramatically reduced due to internal strife. The promised return of part of the trade union heritage (buildings, etc.) captured by Franco’s government during the Civil War may suppose a resources injection to this trade union, but also another source of internal conflicts.

Regarding CGT, since its creation it has attempted to add more groups from the named ‘alternative left’. In this way, groups of trade unionists from CCOO critical of the executive have been abandoning this trade union and have joined on some occasions CGT, giving way to a trade union composed of anarcho-syndicalists, ‘alternative Marxist’ groups, members of the ecologist and peace movements and others.

The origin of *Portes Obertes* lies on the need of filling the gap that CGT had regarding to 'foreign immigration'. In addition, in its birth the mobilisation context was fundamental to 'foreign immigrants' (in France the *sans papiers*, in Barcelona after some time *Assamblea Papers per Tothom* appeared). As Norma Falconi, coordinator of *Portes Obertes*, explained:

"Nuestra organización nace junto con la de los sin-papeles de París y surge también en el momento en que un grupo de inmigrantes y colectivos nacionales vienen a hacer una asamblea, coordinar una asamblea aquí en Barcelona, que al final se llama Papeles para Todos. Surge en estas condiciones, cuando existe un auge para dar respuesta a la política, a la política nefasta del gobierno, este, en lo que se refiere a la inmigración, me parece que este fue un buen instante, porque permitió avanzar más rápido que las demás organizaciones de inmigrantes ... porque nos involucramos con Papeles para Todos. Estamos recién desde el inicio de la formación y nos pusimos también en contacto con los sin-papeles en Francia, estuvimos con ellos, hemos hecho algunas acciones y nos mantenemos en contacto."

Among their activities there are training courses, but as opposed to many other organisations these are courses organised with their own resources (without public funding). Regarding the denouncement of labour improvements for foreign workers, *Portes Obertes-CGT* goes beyond the main trade unions (who are only mobilised occasionally) and they act directly in concrete cases of employers' abuses:

"Tienen una tendencia a que saben que estan sin papeles y los hacen trabajar, los explotan al máximo y luego no les pagan, ni siquiera una miserable peseta, eso si que ha sido un quehacer cotidiano ... ir a la casa del patrón a exigir el pago que le corresponde ... con el apoyo del sindicato, cuando a veces es una empresa fuerte, cuando son familias²¹⁵ no se necesita de la gente del sindicato, sino nosotros mismos como asociación vamos y ya está, y nos ha dado buenos resultados porque hasta ahora a los compañeros y compañeras se les ha pagado ... Es que sino se demuestra que tienes fuerza no sirve, solamente cuando tienes fuerza ahí hay respeto, entonces como ya hemos visto que esa es la línea a seguir entonces ya vamos preparados para ese tipo de contiendas." (Norma Falconi)

In the construction sector, for example, a common case is when the employer goes missing without paying workers, who are sometimes foreigners. In this cases it is CGT who intervenes:

"A veces las empresas se cambian de domicilio, se vuelven fantasmas para evitar pagar, entonces también aprovechamos, este, los contactos que se tienen para poder reubicar a la empresa y exigir el pago. Ahí sí que en estas cuestiones más difíciles se necesita el apoyo del sindicato ... estuvieron aquí unos compañeros marroquíes que estaban trabajando en la construcción ya hace mucho tiempo. Vieron que la empresa iba mal, y decidieron cancelar el contrato sin avisarles y cuando llegaron al momento de la paga el empresario desapareció. Y entonces a través de ciertos códigos que usan los que tienen una empresa pudimos dar con ellos, y esto fue el sindicato que asumió la defensa de los compañeros ... salió bien, cobraron, y aprendieron la lección, que aunque estes sin papeles tienes que defender tus derechos, porque no te queda otra."

²¹⁵ Here she is making reference to the cases of domestic workers who are contracted by particular families.

In this way, CGT seems to be covering the lack of the active trade unionism which characterised CCOO during the 1970s, but in the late 1990s it is not a priority any more for the latter. It is also in this path of direct action that Portes Obertes feels more comfortable. In order to solve some problems for domestic service workers it seems to be the more efficient way:

-“nos presentamos como lo que somos, que ella es nuestra asociada, y planteamos nuestras exigencias”

- ¿en la casa?

-“sí, además no hemos tenido ningún contratiempo ni ningún disgusto ni nada, sino todo lo contrario, más bien cuando no nos hemos hecho presentes sí que ha habido casos de explotación, de 14, 18, hasta 20 horas de trabajo (diario) entonces como estás fija no tienes limite. Entonces, siempre cuando se sabe que hay un respaldo detrás tuyo, entonces sí que hay un poco más de respeto, me parece que eso aquí a la gente le impone un poco (Norma Falconi)”

Portes Obertes has a room in the CGT headquarters in Via Laietana. They are in the framework of the social action office, which enables them to perform exchanges with other social movements. Regarding the funding question, for the time being, they had decided not to claim any public funding. They think that once in a campaign to denounce government policies and laws, it is better to have freedom of movement, without economical ties which would not allow them to go for a more open struggle.

On the other hand, during the 1990s USOC has grown again. This trade union was born in Catalonia in 1966 as a branch of the Unión Sindical Obrera (USO) at a Spanish level. It was founded, then, during the late years of anti-franquist struggle and it incorporated trade unionists who did not fit in the Communist environment (in a wide sense), nor among Socialists, nor among Anarchists, nor among groups of the autonomous left. In this sense, it contained a range of diverse workers close to Christian social-democratic and liberal-humanist convictions, as well as individuals without a clear political option but concerned about labour rights. As the rest of trade unions, USO faced a crisis during the 1980s and it began to recover in 1989 with the incorporation of some independent trade unions. In 1994 a change of name occurs as a response to the new sensibilities of the new members: from USO to USOC. In 1997 a split sector of UGT in Catalonia joined USOC.

USOC has been the last of the four major Catalan trade unions to dedicate specific activities to foreign immigration, in late 1996. The development of this performance criteria occurs as a response to funding received from the Spanish USO Confederation

granted by the Ministerio de Asuntos Sociales in 1996. Thus the immigration department is created because an institutional stimulation arrived from Madrid. In fact, the Departament d'Immigració de la USOC was created according to its equivalent in the capital of Spain. The activities of this USOC department during its first months of existence were focused on the consolidation of a juridical assistance for foreign workers. It was placed in carrer Riereta, in Raval (where the USOC headquarters are situated). Its strategic location - it is the only trade union with a juridical assistance office in Raval where many foreigners live - and an initial work of informative support to organisations within the neighbourhood have enabled them, in their first eight months of existence to deal with 143 users. For some time they had also been participating in *Assemblea Papers per Tothom*, which as Portes Obertes-CGT, was their public presentation in the ambit of foreign immigrants' organisations.

7.2.9. Neighbours' and squatters' movements and 'foreigners'

In Autumn 1996 a platform of organisations was created in Barcelona as a response to massive expulsions of foreign immigrants in late June (see Section 6.2.). This platform later led to the creation of *Assemblea Papers per Tothom*. Also in Barcelona around the same time, another sort of expulsion occurred. In an action coordinated by the new central government delegate in Catalonia (Júlia Valdecasas), dozens of policemen violently evicted a group of young people that had squatted for several months in an old city centre cinema which had been abandoned for nearly twenty years. There they have been performing cultural activities due to a lack of available public spaces.

The opinions given by associations of 'foreign immigrants' composed of members from impoverished countries regarding the squatter movement were usually supportive, but there were not many links between both movements. However, among the victims of the eviction of the *Princesa* cinema (in Via Laietana) there was one who belonged to an immigrant association: *Casa del Uruguay*. In a press release this association related the Spanish police violence to the dictatorship period in their country, and they allied themselves with the victims and called for the resignation of those responsible:

Desde aquellas fechas no habíamos tenido oportunidad de ver acciones policiales de tal envergadura y desproporción, tanto más estraña cuando se originaron por un hecho de carácter local, como es la habitación colectiva por jóvenes, de un local inutilizado e inutilizable, que por añadidura era empleado también por esos jóvenes y el barrio en general.

Una joven integrante de nuestra Asociación participaba de esa iniciativa y fue, como otros, víctima de atropello policial.

... hemos considerado imprescindible unir nuestra voz a la de quienes han expresado su repulsa a la mencionada acción policial y reclamado la destitución de quien o quienes hayan sido los responsables de que se llevara a cabo. (*Nexo*, n.7, December 1996)

Furthermore, as one member of an immigrants' association noted, there are shared difficulties in obtaining decent housing or job. And police repression is also suffered by local squatters and foreign workers from impoverished countries: "Para mi un okupa si le pegan y no le dan trabajo sufre igual que un inmigrante, no sufre, sufro porque yo también estoy en la misma situación" (Mohamed El-Bouhali).

In an editorial of a magazine published by a Chilean immigrants' collective, they expressed clear admiration towards the squatters' actions:

Los *okupas*, como colectivo juvenil, clama por el acceso al espacio urbano donde realizar sus actividades vitales y con ello cuestiona al conjunto de los ciudadanos sobre la funcionalidad del espacio, pero también sobre los contenidos culturales de la sociedad.

Barcelona es el escenario, la diversidad cultural su trasfondo. La "diversidad" es un bonito término, que incluso está de moda en éste fin de siglo, pero lo que no es tan bonito y fácil, es hacer carne viva la diversidad en un sentido constructivo y provechoso para todos. Los intereses se pueden contraponer... Barcelona puede ser una ciudad turística como un museo de edificios, pero también puede ser (y que duda cabe que de hecho lo es) un abanico vivo de colores, en donde cada color tenga su posibilidad de desarrollo, su aporte a la totalidad... y esto no tiene porqué alejar a los turistas. Los *okupas* ya están aquí, más que algo podemos aprender de ellos. (Editorial, *Full Informatiu d'ASOPXI*, n.2, April-May 1998)

However, in another interview it is underlined that it is more risky for 'foreign immigrants' from outside the European Union to squat in a house either in order to live or to organise collective activities, due to their juridical condition as 'foreigners':

"Hay un grupo de okupas donde hay un chaval que es medio guineano, medio catalan ... pero este porque ha nacido aquí... pero los inmigrantes bastantes problemas tienen para que se hagan okupas (*laughs*). Lo que pasa es que los okupas son bastantes solidarios y, bueno, ellos cuando tienen un problema se les apoya y tal, los del Sant Adrià son también tios majos, que son los que conozco de cerca, así a nivel personal." (Irene Yamba)

Apart from the possible cohabitation in the neighbourhood of residence, the links of 'young squatters' with some immigrants' associations and other social organisations related to immigration occurred in the framework of *Assemblea Papers per Tothom*, where for some time in 1996-97 a few members of '*assemblea d'okupes de Barcelona*'

also participated. Later, in May 1999, during the week of protest called 'breaking the silence' (*Trenquem el silenci*), one day was dedicated to support immigrants imprisoned in the special jails designed by the Spanish government for foreigners.

Despite differences in the social and political context and composition of its members, the activities of the 'squatter movement' in Barcelona can be linked with some of the protest activities and direct action of some of the critical neighbours' associations, organised during the last years of franquism. In fact, the Federació d'Associacions de Veïns de Barcelona (FAVB) showed solidarity with the victims of that police eviction of the Princesa cinema and gave support to later events²¹⁶, such as the celebration of a concert in Born (squatted for a night). However, it should be taken into account that neighbourhood associations in Barcelona also suffered their crisis during the 1980s, and that during the mid 1990s they had come out with a slow re-activation that very recently has become more public²¹⁷.

Regarding the relationship between the neighbourhood movement and foreign immigration, it is important to underline that until the creation of Assemblea Papers per Tothom, FAVB usually just performed joint actions called by the organisational block CCOO-UGT-SOS Racisme. However, in Autumn 1996, the collaboration with other organisations had been more frequent, in fact, Assemblea Papers per Tothom met in the FAVB headquarters, placed in the carrer Obradors (Ciutat Vella). In addition, also in autumn 1996, FAVB organised a series of conferences entitled 'Setmana Solidària. Trobada entre els veïns i la població immigrant'²¹⁸ which intended to be a meeting for the discussion of diverse ways to increase the incorporation of foreign immigrants in neighbourhood associations and in the neighbourhood as a whole, a difficult task to carry out.

²¹⁶ See *La Veu del Carrer*, n. 43, November-December 1996.

²¹⁷ See as illustration the following articles: 'Els conflictes venials eleven la crispació a Barcelona' in *El Periódico*, 13-6-98, and 'Varios concejales de Barcelona convocan reuniones con los vecinos para tratar de calmar las protestas' *El País*, 10-6-98.

²¹⁸ This title may be controversial because it distinguishes 'immigrants' from 'neighbours', as if immigrants were not neighbours. One of the conferences was entitled 'Els nous veïns. Relacions de les associacions de veïns amb immigrants' (21-10-96), shifting to consider immigrants as 'new neighbours'. On the other hand, in a dossier published in issue 14 of *La Veu del Carrer* (March-April 1993) regarding foreign immigrants, they were called 'Els altres veïns' (the other neighbours).

Among the neighbourhood associations that have dealt with transnational immigrants, Associació de Veïns del Casc Antic (located in carrer Rec) can be underlined, because it has had an immigrants' commission since 1991. It is included in the social affairs area of the association, which has as territorial ambit the district of Ciutat Vella, mainly the area located between Via Laietana and Passeig Picasso-Companys. In this immigrants' commission work around fifteen people on a permanent basis (many of them university students, a few of whom are foreign immigrants). The activities that they perform have been divided into four groups: juridical assistance, health, immigrant women (together with the women's group of the association) and outdoor activities (participation in festivals, leisure events, spread of the commission's work). The women's problems were emphasised during the interview of Gloria Fontcoberta, the vice-president of the association, because "the Arabic woman's image is that she is the one who stays at home and who does not participate in the neighbours' association". This job of socialisation is performed by social mediators, namely two Moroccan women who participated in a training course.

According to Glòria Fontcoberta, the most popular activity within the association in terms of participation happens in the adult school. Apart from this space, due to the participation of foreign immigrants in their own associations, what the neighbours' association does is to organise 'inter-cultural weeks':

"De quant en quant fem una setmana intercultural, per exemple, en la qual una sèrie d'entitats del barri ens reunim per fer una miqueta d'intercanvi ... exposen tot lo que ells fan, tot lo que fem nosaltres, és una forma que el veïnat d'alguna manera, tant ells com nosaltres, ens coneguem ... vam fer una exposició de ratlles d'ells, una sèrie de xerrades sobre la Llei d'estrangeria, l'immigrant en el barri, una setmana de xerrades, que va culminar el diumenge que vam fer una paella, en la qual nosaltres feiem la paella, i llavors ells portaven el té, per exemple, i pastes típiques de dolços, i a la tarda... es va escenificar una boda marroquí, i aquesta va ser la forma d'interrelacionar-se".

They have fluent relationships mainly with Senegalese, Dominican, Pakistani and Moroccan collectives. However, with people from European Union countries there were not many relations and those they had it were poor. In fact, there was a conflict between them because western Europeans were accused of being against a rehabilitation plan for the area, Pla Especial de Reforma Interior (PERI). It is a polemic issue also among local residents because not everybody affected by the rehabilitation is later granted a flat, some people are evicted from their home in the neighbourhood and they have to look for another place to live. However, this

neighbours' representative was accusing Europeans of classism in a quite simplistic way: "They have quality accommodation, but they do not want the rest to have quality accommodation... because they say that stones are more important than people, and a Middle-Ages design could be lost". It is necessary to underline that this debate and the mobilisations about the PERIs implementation in Ciutat Vella is a complex problem. The way it was being carried out, promises of re-housing of the neighbours affected by the destruction of old houses, was not always finally accomplished or was carried out under different conditions than the ones promised by the Ajuntament de Barcelona.

In the last chapter of the book *Barcelona en Lluita*, Josep Maria Huertas and Marc Andreu indicated that one of the possible solutions to overcome the crisis that has dragged down the neighbourhood movement since the late 1970s is to open up to new social movements where young people are involved, such as the squatters' movements.

Some of the squatted houses that are run as social centres, the ones that are open to the people of the neighbourhood where they are placed, have some points in common with the neighbourhood associations (which are also very diverse among them). The territorial action at a neighbourhood scale allows urban movements to boost local solidarity in a context of growing social fragmentation (as it would be also possible if actions were carried out in the workplace or other communal areas). Social integration among the popular classes can be an antidote against the colonisation of the lifeworld by the system. In other words, solidarity between those who suffer any of the many existing forms of oppression can be a way to resist and confront bureaucratisation and exploitation processes characteristic of systemic integration.

8. Social organisations, movements, and ‘foreign immigration’ in Lisbon

“é ke não adianta eskonder
Gente em blokos de cimento
P’ra o inglês não ver
Pobreza que vai no país
não é p’ra ignorar
Isto é um problema de raiz / ... /
Visitem Chelas, outros bairros
E entenderão reghetização”.
General D, 1997)

In this chapter the relations between Lisbon’s ‘foreign immigrants’ and social organisations are studied. On the one hand, associations composed by immigrants from enriched countries and top managers of transnational companies from all over the world are analysed in relation to employers’ associations and other systemic organisations. On the other hand, the process of creation of associations mainly composed by immigrants from impoverished countries are analysed in relation to other social organisations, including trade unions and local NGOs.

8.1 'Invisible' immigration in Lisbon. The organisational side

“Pois é, o grande capital / É o tal do gostinho especial
Gosto a limão / Gosto a cereja
Gosto a opressão / Numa bandeja...
O grande capital / Está vivo em Portugal
E quem não o combate / É que dele faz parte”
Sergio Godinho, 1974

In a similar way as has been seen in Barcelona's case, in Lisbon also there have been complex relationships in the capital associative sphere. However, if during the 'transition' employers' organisations in Barcelona avoided political divisions and could face working class organisations with almost a single voice (CEOE at the Spanish level, and its Catalan branch FTN), in Lisbon there were more divisions between capitalist factions according to Phillippe C. Schmitter (1999). As this author notes, 44 of the 120 Portuguese industrial associations were not linked to the CIP, the Confederação da Indústria Portuguesa. In this sense, there is a rivalry between CIP and the Associação Industrial Portuguesa (AIP): the latter is a 'pure' sectorial association, but the CIP has a dual functions of representing the sector and the employers. Furthermore, there is a sectorial fragmentation: the Confederação do Comércio Português (CCP) and the Confederação da Agricultura Portuguesa (CAP) are not formally linked to the CIP, unlike Spain, where the CEOE includes under the same umbrella industrial, commercial and agrarian employers' associations; although it is also true that in Catalonia there are also the aforementioned divisions between FTN, PIMEC and SEFES, which in key moments have faded away to allow unity). In Portugal, the *Câmaras de Comércio e Indústria* were abolished during the 1974 revolution (Schmitter, 1999), but the AIP is named together with Câmara de Comércio e Indústria, and some re-appeared later.

During the dictatorship, Portuguese employers had been organised in guilds which were incorporated in the corporative state, although the régime also allowed the existence of old associations (for example, Associação Industrial Portuguesa, Associação Industrial Portuense and Associações Comerciais de Lisboa e Porto) and the appearance of economic groups protected by Portuguese industrial power (Ferreira, 1994).

According to Schmitter (1999), the radical expropriation of industry and financial institutions generated initially a certain disorientation between the capitalist class, which was fragmented into sectors: the two industrial associations existing at a national level (AIP and CIP) hardly had the power to coordinate the behaviour of their own members, let alone speak in the name of those sectors outside their sphere. But in any case, in the first months of the revolution, the capitalist class became quickly re-organised, as is revealed in a book published by the Workers' Coordination Commission of the (industrial) CUF group (1976). This book was based on some of the documents found in the headquarters of the Empresa Geral de Fomento after its occupation by workers on 19 April 1975.

However, during 1974-75 also a significant number of capitalists left Portugal, most of them for Brazil, then ruled by a military dictatorship. Among them there was António Espírito Santo Bustorff, one of the interviewees, who is today president of the Brazilian entrepreneurs' club in Lisbon and president of the Portuguese-Brazilian Trade Chamber: "Apòs 74 houve uma grande emigração, digamos assim, de empresários portugueses para o Brasil dadas as circunstâncias socio-políticas do país e eu estive incluído nesse processo". It was another factor to take into account in understanding divisions among Portuguese capitalists: between those who stayed in Portugal during the revolutionary days to face the 'socialist threat' and those who left the country.

António Espírito Santo Bustorff returned to Portugal in 1989 and, together with seven other businessmen, created the Clube de Empresários Brasileiros in Lisbon with the main aim of supporting bilateral relations at an economic and business level. The circumstances of its creation were the following:

“Esse grupo de empresários procurou a Câmara de Comércio Luso-Brasileira, a Câmara tinha pouca actividade nessa altura, propou-se uma união de interesses e não se chegou a um acordo. Então decidiu-se criar o clube de empresários, à margem da Câmara de Comércio, com finalidades semelhantes, mas também com a proposta de não hostilizar a Câmara de Comércio. Todos os sócios que entraram no clube foram convidados a entrar na Câmara de Comércio também e a Câmara têm uma função de prestação de serviços que o clube não tinha, de apoio às empresas. O clube promovia essencialmente as relações entre os empresários, que é o que faz até hoje. Hoje o clube é um clube aberto, é um clube que não limita a nacionalidade nem a origem dos empresários mas tem como cenário de fundo o Brasil, as relações empresariais com o Brasil.” (António Espírito Santo Bustorff)

Thus, again in this case, although there were divergences among capitalist factions, they could reach a point of agreement. Among the activities organised by that business club there are seminars, gatherings and lunches where there is a guest speaker who can be a businessman or a key personality in Brazilian politics. The club includes employers, but also top managers and professionals linked to big transnational companies or performing on their own (in a proportion of 60 percent employers and 40 percent top managers and professionals). In this case, Tom Bottomore's (1989) study on the capitalist class characteristics seems to be confirmed: it includes both those who own the companies and those who manage them, even if they are not the owners (and furthermore it also includes top professional politicians). And as Bottomore noted, an important characteristic of the capitalist class is that it shares more or less closed social environments. In the case of the Brazilian businessmen's club, in Bustorff's words, “A sua função é essencialmente o convívio, promoção do convívio, entre empresários que tenham interesses activos ou prospectivos no Brasil”. One of the activities that they promote is attending cultural events in order to have the chance to promote personal contacts among businessmen which maybe useful:

“Quando se promove um artista brasileiro que vem a Portugal, nós procuramos através dum mailing dos nossos associados que eles participem de eventos culturais, eventos que nós não promovemos mas que consideramos que é importante que haja aí uma troca de, um convívio geral, de promover encontros da comunidade empresarial luso-brasileira. O factor da relação humana é importante para resolver relações empresariais, quanto mais intimidade e aproximação houver entre as pessoas mais esses contactos ficam facilitados para promover o encontro de toda a gente entorno de questões luso-brasileiras, por tanto estamos sempre atentos a este tipo de iniciativas e apoiamos todas as que existam.” (António Espírito Santo Bustorff)

At this point in writing, a question appears: socialisation has been referred to as integrative in society as opposed to integrative into the system. However, those who ‘manage’ the system are apparently also paying attention to a kind of ‘socialisation’ among themselves. But is that socialisation? It is not, because they are just interested

in having relations with a small minority of privileged people, not because they are human beings but because they have supposed key posts in the capitalist system (at least for their business). This is not socialisation, it is a way of systematisation, it can be seen more as joint-stock individualism or co-operative egotism than other thing. Of course, there are not pure processes, and what can be mainly a process of systematisation is also mixed with socialising characteristics, because at the end of the day even the most systemic individual is a human being (and that is why there is almost always room for dissidence²¹⁹, even if just a minority become dissidents). Looked at the other way round, what can be mainly a socialisation process can be also affected in a significant way by systemic characteristics (profit, competition, greed, etc. can damage social relations).

Returning to the Clube de Empresários do Brasil, it has 150 members whose nationality is Portuguese in around 40 percent of the cases and Brazilian among 30 percent of the members; the rest is composed of multiple nationalities (thus most of them are foreigners). The average age is around 50 years old and it covers all of Portugal, especially the Lisbon region. Among them 90 percent are men, another instance of the sharp gender bias in the business world. According to António Espírito Santo Bustorff, businesswomen are not organised in their own business association besides the club, but they have created with other women the Grupo das Amigas do Brasil (Brazil female friends' group). This group includes the wives of the businessmen involved in the club, businesswomen and women working in diplomatic spheres. It is backed by the club, but it develops its own autonomous cultural and philanthropic activities.

On the other hand, the Câmara de Comércio Luso-Brasileira in 1998 had around 125 companies associated, including the top Portuguese and Brazilian companies. However, in 1994 it was in a deep crisis. It was not until 1994 that the Clube de Empresários Brasileiros supported the Commerce Chamber and since then it has been

²¹⁹ One instance is Mordechai Vanunu, who was employed as a senior technician at Israel's Dimona nuclear plant and revealed the extent of Israel's nuclear weapons programme in the mid 1980s. He was sentenced in 1986 to 18 years in prison. Another more recent case (earlier 1999) is the public exposition by a top European civil servant of the massive corruption in the European Commission, which led to the dismissal of all the Commissioners. The person who spread this information was sacked.

growing. At that moment they designed a five-year plan to re-launch the Portuguese-Brazilian chamber of commerce, which was being successfully achieved (the next step was to open a delegation in Porto). There is a kind of complementarity between the club and the chamber:

“Não há sobreposição, o Clube só tem individuos como sócios e tem funções de promoção e de relacionamento entre empresários, a Câmara promove em conjunto com o Clube seminários ou palestras e coisas do género, mas depois tem tudo a sua função de prestação de serviços, informações sobre contrapartes no Brasil, sobre produtos, sobre empresas, acesso a bases de dados e informações estatísticas brasileiras. Tudo o que é verificação de origem de productos, apoio a estudos de mercado, identificação de parcerias, potenciais parcerias, entidades associativas congeneres no Brasil, ligações com essas entidades, relações institucionais com outras associações, etc. [A Câmara de Comércio] faz tudo um trabalho de aproximação e ligação das empresas portuguesas ao meio empresarial brasileiro e viceversa...” (António Espírito Santo Bustorff)

This dual model adopted by the Clube de Empresários Brasileiros has been inspired by the American Club of Lisbon, which has up to 700 members of whom only 70 are American citizens (although most of the members are foreigners), and which has the American Chamber of Commerce as the organisation that provides services to companies. Both clubs have good relations in Lisbon, although they have not organised any joint events yet.

However, a slightly different aspect of the Brazilian business community in relation to the organisation of the American business community in Lisbon is the way most women are organised. Grupo de Amigas do Brasil is a dynamic autonomous group within the Brazilian club with diplomatic, cultural and philanthropic activities. It is seen as a cultural arm of the Clube de Empresários Brasileiros. Instead, American Women of Lisbon (AWOL²²⁰) is an association based in Estoril that is mainly dedicated to leisure and charity activities performed on their own. It is an independent association although it has some links with the American Club and the American embassy.

The origins of AWOL according to Luisa Eckroade, president of the club, go back to 1947, when a group of American women, some of whom worked with the American embassy, decided to form a club,

²²⁰ As Luisa Eckroade notes, the foundation members wanted to get a name that would capture people's attention. AWOL in American is Absent Without Leave, a term used in the armed forces when you are taking leave without authorisation.

“so that they could, you know, get together and play bridge and canasta, and all these kinds of things. At that time there was no club house, they started very small, it was just half a dozen of people, and then they started growing and growing, and more and more nationalities came in. The name remains the same, although the symbol remains the same, we kept the traditional things, but we have 30 different nationalities”.

Most of its members live in Estoril and Cascais: “We have members that live in Lisbon, we have a member that lives in Vilafranca, Vilafranca de Xira, we have a couple of people that live in Santarem, but it is not the majority, the majority live in Cascais-Estoril”.

Apart from North Americans and Europeans: “We have the wife of the Turkish ambassador, another Japanese from the Japanese embassy, we have some South American people too, Argentina, ... we have a lot of Dutch and German people, and French, that’s Europe of course, Canadians and North Americans of course, United States citizens a lot of those, a lot of people from the embassy, the wife of the American ambassador is our honorary member”. In AWOL they have a close co-operation with the American embassy.

Early in 1998 a conference of American leisure clubs based in the Iberian peninsula took place in Seville. It happened after the creation of an Internet contacts network created as a joint venture by embassies, consulates and the American clubs. It was the first time a meeting of this kind had taken place in Europe. As a result an Iberian ‘mega-association’ was created, unifying all the American clubs (Lisbon, Barcelona, Madrid, Seville, Málaga). The next meeting point was going to be Lisbon, first in an informal way at Expo 98, afterwards in a formal way in a conference to be held in Estoril in February 1999. This conference was to be organised jointly with a world-wide organisation called American Citizens Abroad, which has its main headquarters in Europe in Geneva, and has representatives in all countries with a significant number of American citizens.

AWOL is a small association if compared with the American club of Lisbon (the business-oriented one), but the borders between them are permeable: “We are not many, although we are associated with the American Club of Lisbon, I’m on the board of directors of the American Club of Lisbon too, and they have 800 members, we only

have approximately 100, but if we include this megaclub we started now, we are around 2,000 people in Iberia". The issues they discuss include problems on taxes, public health services provision and visa requirements.

When I queried why Iberia was the geographical setting for such 'mega-club' there was not a clear answer:

"It just started that way, they called it the All Iberian Conference, and so I think trying to make it a European conference is something for the future, because there are so many Americans in the Iberian peninsula that going any further right now is too much to handle. We need a lot of people and a very big structure to handle more than 2000 people, there are only two people supervising right now, there is a guy in Seville, from the American Club of Seville, and there is me in Portugal, in association with the American Consul, and a representative of American Citizens Abroad here. But basically I'm in the organisation and Germán is in the organisation in Seville, so with so few people we cannot go any further." (Luisa Eckroade)

Sometimes members of one American club move to another city and join another one:

"One of our members was on the board of the American Women of Barcelona ... they are very big, they have about 350 to 400 members, that's just a women's club, you have to understand . . . we have very few men, maybe four men here, and then what they call just the American Club of Seville, for instance, it's just all men, no women". However, there are no universal norms, and in the American Club of Lisbon, although 75 percent of its members are men, its president is a woman:

"The difference is that the women's clubs, as a rule, are dedicated to function as volunteer work from women ... we try to raise money for charities, we have only volunteer women who have time to organise events so that we can use that money to, at a certain point at the end of each year, contribute to a charity of our choice that we think is in most need and has no government support, that is really the issue, and I think that it goes for all the Iberian clubs. Whereas the American men's clubs, and 'men' in quotations, because they don't call themselves men's clubs, because of discrimination I think (*laughs*), the men's club are basically for businessmen, so for the *American club of Lisbon*, all those members are businessmen and businesswomen, who have joined because it opens up business opportunities, they have business contacts, all the major directors of banks, and industry, and anything, any kind of business, *any top business people belong to this club*, and then there are monthly luncheons. We have for instance one on Wednesday in Lisbon at the Sheraton ... the guest speaker is the new American ambassador of Portugal, so people that want to know about the situation between Portugal and the United States, trade relations, all that, will be at that luncheon, there will be probably 300 people at that luncheon, so that's the difference, the women do all the work and the men just listen" (*laughs*). (Luisa Eckroade)

Thus it is possible to perceive a strong gender associative division, although it is not rigid, there is a clear separation of functions between men's and women's associations. Such associative division is clearly related to the gender work division, although the fact that some women who are members of AWOL work as salaried workers or run

their own businesses shows to what extent the gender division goes beyond the labour market. However, for some women in top business positions work would be a way of integration in what Luisa Eckroade calls “American men’s associations”. Thus the critical question is not to work or not, but what kind of job.

Another difference between both American associations is that AWOL is fully based on volunteer work, but the American Club of Lisbon has two secretaries working as salaried employees for them. However, the character of AWOL means that the luxury Grand Hotel in Estoril allows them to freely use their conference rooms for bridge, canasta, arts and crafts (they use them a few times a week, when they are not very busy). The only big overhead they have is the monthly bulletin²²¹. However, in the past the situation was different. At first they had an office at the Grand Hotel: “It functioned as a real office, with a desk and the whole thing, at that time technology was not what it is today, you know, most women didn’t have a computer, and now a lot of women do, and we felt that we didn’t really need the office” (Luisa Eckroade).

The location of the American Women’s of Lisbon ‘headquarters’ and the location of the American Club of Lisbon office is not random: the first is placed in the Estoril-Cascais area, where most American upper class and other rich foreigners live, while the second is at the Sheraton in Lisbon city centre, where most of the businessmen work. In AWOL members pay 7,000 escudos a year, in the American club 10,000 escudos a year, and in the clube Nórdico 2,500 escudos a year.

These kinds of associations suffer fluctuating membership owing to economic and immigration factors: “We had a tremendous influx of members because of a lot of Americans were coming to work on the bridge here, and all their wives came and

²²¹ Looking at the bulletin contents is an interesting way of seeing what an association is about. Luisa Eckroade comments that “it is fourteen pages, we tried to make it as informative as possible, trying to keep people up to date on various things: to inform people of the luncheons that we have, the tours that we are having, right now the emphasis is on the visit to Expo, and so we are keeping them updated on what’s happening, you know, the sketch of the visit. They like to be well informed, when they are going out to lunch they want to know exactly what are they going to eat (*laughs*), so you have to write in any little newsletter this is the menu, fish or meat, coffee, wine, so we try to make them happy. A lot of people like to have recipes, new recipes they like to try, so we try to include a recipe every month, other people were asking me to put in jokes (*laughs*), sometimes there is no space for the jokes, but we try to put a little, a funny story of some kind, next month we are going to have elections [in the club], so that is going to be a big chunk of the newsletter.”

joined the club, but they have subsequently left". Luisa Eckroade describes how membership is vulnerable to change:

"They were building the railway track under the bridge because the original bridge was built by the Americans and so the same company came to build the railway track, because the original bridge was built to accommodate that railway track, and they know what they are doing (*laughs*). So there were wives joining the club, so the membership doubled for a few years... Sometimes it'll be a change for instance in the IBM personnel, this is just an example, and one of the women from IBM, she's American or Dutch, or whatever, will join the club and she will tell to all the new chaps in the company: - 'Hey, join the club', and they will join, and then they'll go to a party and there will be the wives of other people and they will say, 'OK, come for a bridge' [game] ... and then are coming 50-60 people in a few months, and then those people go away and then the membership drops, so it is always. The 100 people we have now are basically old residents of Portugal, they are residents and they have been members for many, many years".

They have very fluent relations with other similar clubs and organisations. Together with some of them they have created a council to support (and to monitor) Portuguese charities:

"We belong to another association called CACEP, which in Portuguese stands for *Conselho de Apoio às Caridades em Portugal*, so it's a council that we formed to help all volunteer clubs to determine which charity is in need of more support, that's basically what it is all about, so all the foreign clubs get together for this meeting, usually once a month, sometimes every two months, depending on you know what the necessity is, we can go there for a council to consult with other members, learn from their experiences, and then we have this huge book provided by the government, with all the names of associations that they subsidise, we know which ones not to give to and which ones we can, they are all investigated, we go and visit the charity, we speak to the directors, we investigate it in groups, and then we go to the council, and we produce our reports and our views on the charities, and then from there they are evaluated for the group and either accepted as a midi institution or not." (Luisa Eckroade).

CACEP is composed of the Foundation Lord Michael Henn of Helingley²²², the Anglo-Portuguese Society, the Women's Volunteer Service, the International Women in Portugal, the Saint Mary's Guild²²³, the Clube Nórdico, among others.

The Clube Nórdico was founded in 1996 on the basis of a previous Scandinavian women's organisation called Senhoras Escandinavas, which had been created in 1952. Both had as a main aim organising cultural Nordic activities in Portugal and raising money for Portuguese charities. Senhoras Escandinavas suffered a decline in the early 1990s, and after two years without an organisation, Cristina Nilssen re-started the club in 1996 under the name of Clube Nórdico. In 1998 it had 285 members. Most of the

²²² Named after a man who lived in Portugal and left 4 million dollars to be used for charitable purposes.

²²³ It is a small Catholic organisation, based in São Pedro, in Saint Mary's parish. They are a small group of British women who raise money for charity and call themselves Saint Mary's Guild.

members live in the Cascais-Estoril area. One difference in relation to AWOL is that today most of the members of the Clube Nórdico work:

“No início eu achava que as senhoras tinham muito tempo, os maridos eram os que trabalhavam, normalmente eram administradores de firmas, e as senhoras não faziam nada. Hoje isso é diferente, a maioria também trabalha, a maior parte delas, e há muitas pessoas que não estão com salários altos como os administradores. Temos aqui por exemplo dois dentistas suecos e dois dinamarqueses, na zona de Cascais, há enfermeiras, há professoras, temos uma escola sueca em Carcavelos, portanto há variadíssimas profissões hoje em dia, e há muita gente nova que também trabalha.” (Cristina Nilssen)

The Clube Nórdico has fluent relations with embassies and consulates of North European countries in Portugal, although it does not have any financial support from them. In the last week of November they organise a big festival to raise money for charities. However this concern with raising money for the poor apparently contrasts with the political position of its president. Cristina Nilssen stood for office in the local elections with the Partido Popular, a right-wing political party. Furthermore, she considers that one of the two main problems in Cascais, the city where she lives, is the people begging in the streets while helping to park the cars in the city centre:

“Os arrumadores que só estão para chatear. Cascais é uma das poucas terras que têm parquímetro e arrumador, por tanto têm que dar dinheiro ao parquímetro e ao arrumador para não riscar o carro, pairado, e há quem não tenha problema porque mora no centro e vai a pé, mas outras pessoas têm que deslocar-se de carro, é um problema, é um problema aqui em Cascais.” (Cristina Nilssen)

Thus, for her, there is a difference between giving money to poor people from time to time and dealing with them in a daily basis. CACEP was founded by Ian Crocker who has been living in Portugal all his life (he now resides in Carcavelos, relatively near Cascais). Although he is British, his family has been in Portugal for generations because they are owners of one of the largest port wine companies, and besides running his company he has been involved in charities.

However, besides such supposed concerns with Portuguese people who are poor and the charity work for them, Luisa Eckroade expresses a feeling apparently shared by a part of the foreign and Portuguese wealthy community on the arrival of young Europeans in Portugal after the opening of borders within the EU:

“The problem is since the borders have been down, we have been invaded by a lot of people that have no money, and that are trying to just survive, a lot of them go around the streets begging, what is not a good idea, it doesn't help the society in any way, or by doing odd jobs, just making

enough to survive, they are not really contributing anything to help or promote the economical progress of the country. That's where I'm trying to get you, they are actually lowering the standards of the Portuguese society, they are not uplifting the Portuguese society in anyway"

- What kind of people are you talking about?

"I'm talking about mainly young people that just decided: 'we are going to get into a car', or maybe not, they are hitch-hikers, something, and maybe go and travel around Europe, and then get little jobs everywhere they can, and they are, you know, there is no control (*she gets nervous*). There is absolutely no control within the European Union now, so there are times of the year, for instance in the summer, I don't know if you have been here in the summer, but you can see a tremendous transformations happens here in the summer, because the weather here is very nice (*laughs*). In the summer, people like to come here in the summer, when they don't have the money to keep going for six months, and most people not, then they have to find something to do, unless they start begging, or stealing, or doing whatever they can do in order to survive, and that's what I'm saying, these people are not beneficial to the country in any way"

However, if one of her main criticisms of those young western European people is that they do not work or they just have little jobs to 'survive', when she is asked on what are the main professions of the people in their association she says that in general they don't work: "The majority of our members don't work (*laughs*) when you run a club of volunteers, you automatically have to have people with a lot of time on their hands. People who work do not have a lot of time on their hands, so the majority of our members do not work, we have some that work very hard and still find time to contribute in a small way, and that's wonderful, but the vast majority do not work" (Luisa Eckroade). Most of them are the economically inactive wives of foreign top businessmen and diplomats (just 20 percent of AWOL members work).

As another fruit of inter-organisative links, in March 1999 a world-wide congress of international chambers of commerce was organised in Lagos (Algarve, Portugal), with a greater emphasis on Latin countries. Its organisation was possible thanks to a joint effort of the Portuguese-Argentinean, Portuguese-South African, Portuguese-Japanese, Portuguese-American, and Portuguese-Sweden chambers of commerce.

Clube de Empresários do Brasil has an executive board typical of associations of its kind, although it lacks a general secretary. This is the reason why they have more frequent meetings of the executive. This club has three workers, two of whom are professionals in international relations and the third is the executive secretary. However, Clube de Empresários do Brasil does not provide services for the integration of recently arrived Brazilian businessmen, although advice is available if they ask for it. Furthermore, the club has a newsletter that until 1998 was included in the magazine

Brasil-Europa but since late last year they have launched a newsletter on their own. In this way, in October 1998, during the celebration of the 50th birthday of the Portuguese-Brazilian Chamber of Commerce, they were going to publish the first issue of their own semestral magazine with general information on economic relations between the two countries.

Most of the Brazilian businessmen established in Lisbon are involved in finance or in the building industry and public works companies, although there are also some in the automotive products industry. Since the 1970s there has been a complementary situation between Portugal and Brazil in terms of the migration of businessmen. During the 70s a significant number of Portuguese capitalists emigrated to Brazil because of the revolution and the economic crisis in Portugal (and because of the economic boom in Brazil), whilst in the late 1980s a significant number of Brazilian capitalists emigrated to Portugal because of the political and economic crisis in Brazil (and because Portugal was experiencing an economic boom after the joining the European Community):

“Brasil teve a sua década perdida, digamos também, que foi a seguir a nossa, e que vieram a procurar oportunidades e muitos deles estão bem estabelecidos em Portugal. Voltam ao Brasil com frequência, mas é aqui que têm a sua vida, o seu trabalho e hoje é uma comunidade muito grande. Têm muitos amigos, por tanto sentem-se completamente como em casa, como nós portugueses nos sentíamos lá e nos sentimos quando estamos lá. É uma comunidade estabelecida e integrada completamente, completamente integrada, não há grandes problemas, o nosso problema é a dimensão, massa crítica que nos permita pôr em prática os nossos projectos que temos em vista, e isso pode pôr-se em prática com a abertura da delegação no Norte.”

The Brazilian businessmen's club in Lisbon has better relations with the AIP than with the CIP, and it also has good relations with chambers of commerce in Brazil.

Portuguese capitalists can be characterised by a unity in diversity. According to Vital Moreira (1992), in 1979 the addition of CIP, CAP, and CCP gave way to the Confederação Nacional de Empresas Portuguesas, CNEP, although it was an ephemeral coalition. In Manuela Gameiro's (CIP) words: “Houve uma altura em que houve o Conselho Nacional das Empresas Portuguesas que agrupou as pessoas, agora há assuntos comuns mas também há assuntos divergentes”. CIP, CCP and CAP have been the main characters of labour relations and the collective contract of work, and, together with the two main trade unions congresses (CGTP-IN and UGT), these three

employers' organisations formed the Conselho Permanente de Concertação Social, created in 1984 (although the CGTP-IN did not joined it until some years later). Furthermore, those employers' organisations continued to be important lobbies aiming to define Portuguese economic policy. On the other hand, companies' associations such as AIP continued their existence solely as defenders of their economic sectors' interests. João de Menezes Ferreira (1994) considers that the main differences between AIP and the CIP (both representing industrial companies) are difficult personal relations between the leaders of both organisations plus a major predisposition of the AIP to understand the State companies, as opposed to the more combative CIP on the macroeconomics front, which takes a more radical position. According to Schmitter (1999), the rivalry between AIP and CIP is not the same kind of situation that can be found in Germany, Austria, Switzerland and Scandinavian countries, where there are associations that represent employers' interests as producers (sector associations) and associations that represent their interests as employers: AIP is a 'pure' sector association, and CIP is a mixed association because it represents industrial interests and employers. With the Confederação do Comércio Português (CCP) also there have been internal differences between retail shops and big commercial areas. There have been announcements of splits, although Ferreira (1994) notes that they have been able to maintain their unity.

So far, it can be concluded that capitalist organisations in Portugal were successful in overcoming the socialist threat during the revolutionary days, and that although differences among employers' organisations persist, in key moments there was unity. However, João Vilela (1995) considers that who have been during the last centuries and still are the dominant class in Portugal are the major importers, and he considers that this fact has prevented Portugal from developing its economy at a north European level. As an instance of this influence, and the consequent split among capitalists, Vilela notes the boycott that CIP effected of the ceremony of Portugal joining the European Economic Community (EEC) in 1985, because they felt that their opinions were not taken into account during the negotiations. Criticism to the way Portugal joined the EEC was shared by Rocha de Matos, president of AIP, in 1986, who was afraid of an invasion of European products if incorporation was too fast. According to

Vilela, the industrial sector was not influential enough on Portuguese economic policies, which were dominated by the interests of the financial and trade capitalists.

In any case, both AIP and CIP have regular contacts and direct line with the Portuguese government. According to a document published by the CIP, its 'mission' is the following one: 'To contribute to the development of a suitable framework for companies' competitiveness, acting at an economic, social, industrial, juridical and international level, suggesting alterations or new legislative initiatives and government policies in order to obtain, progressively, better functioning conditions for the business fabric'. Manuela Gameiro, a CIP representative who was interviewed, notes that in order to do so they have almost 30 people working for this employers' confederation (although there are no foreign immigrants among them, just some *retornados* from the former colonies). The CIP has almost 50 employers' organisations associated, both regional and sector ones.

Unlike FTN in Catalonia (which has an association with Japanese companies), there is no association of foreign companies linked to the CIP. There are foreign companies associated with the sector (especially in the electronic sector) and regional organisations that are within the CIP, but not a self-organisation of foreign companies beyond the trade chambers. The apparently different role between trade chambers and employers' organisations is explained by Manuela Gameiro, head of CIP's economy department:

“(as Câmaras de Comércio) ajudam as empresas portuguesas a ir para o estrangeiro e as empresas estrangeiras de determinado país a instalar-se cá. Pode ser um ponto de contacto. Eu julgo que são mais ponto de contacto de empresas estrangeiras que querem vir trabalhar para Portugal que empresas portuguesas que querem ir trabalhar para o estrangeiro”.

The CIP claims to include most Portuguese companies, and it provides them mainly with legal advice. The CIP has also a documentation and research centre where studies are carried out to provide support for its associate organisations and companies (among them there is none explicitly on immigration issues). Such research reports have an internal character, and are not for public release. This is another instance of the role of social science research to support capitalist class interests, in this case through their own 'think tanks'.

In these pages an approach to the organisation of ‘foreign immigrants’ from *above* has been undertaken. However, most ‘foreign immigrants’ organise themselves from *below*, and when they actively participate in the host society they usually do so in social organisations set up in order to defend people’s rights. In the following chapter a study from *below* is undertaken aiming to understand how such processes have taken place in Lisbon during recent years.

8.2 ‘Visible’ immigration in Lisbon. The social organisations side

In the early 1970s the key points of Portuguese working class-resistance to the dictatorship were concentrated in the Lisbon metropolitan area (in a similar way to the situation of the Barcelona metropolitan area in relation to Catalonia and Spain as a whole). And, apart from several differences that I have not space to include here, also in Lisbon most of the resistance was organised in trade unions and in neighbours’ associations (*comissões de moradores*).

If special attention is paid to the trade union movement after the dictatorship, several key points may be noted. The Decree-Law No. 215-B/75 of 30th April granted trade unions freedom, but for some years a polemic on ‘unity’ (*unicidade*) had a big impact. In particular, there was a ‘transitional’ period between 1974 (when the *intersindical nacional-IN* was created) and 1979 (when the UGT was born) with a number of confrontations between the PCP and other political parties (PS, UDP, MRPP, etc.) on the trade union ‘unity’ issue.

In the UGT’s foundation, both PS and PSD had a key role. First, it was the publication of an article in the *Diário de Notícias* in 1975 signed by Salgado Zenha (then number two of the PS) against such trade union ‘unity’; later, with the support of PS victories in the 1975 and 1976 legislative elections, the organisation of trade union tendencies within the PS and the PSD through private foundations (Fundação José Fontana in the PS, Fundação Oliveira Martins in the PSD); furthermore, the control of the big

services trade unions and the creation of parallel trade unions to those already existing in the IN (later also called CGTP); and, finally, the creation of the UGT was decided by both PS and PSD, then supported by those foundations, and only finally passed by the trade unions linked to them²²⁴. This is to say, according to João de Menezes Ferreira (1994), that if the link of the CGTP to the Communist party was clear, so also was clear the UGT link to the socialist party and the social-democrat party (although its name may suggest another thing, the PSD is close to other European liberal-conservative parties or coalitions). Unlike Spain, where USO gained a modest role in trade union life, Christian-inspired trade unions did not have room in Portugal (Ferreira, 1994).

However, although the creation of the UGT was finally a fact by the late 1970s, the CGTP-IN, as it was re-named the communist-dominated trade union congress, had been the main force since the Carnations Revolution in the industrial sector²²⁵. Behaving as enemies for a long time, later CGTP-IN and UGT established co-operative relations and, under right-wing governments, they fought together against legislative projects to remove labour protection, as in 1988 against the *pacote laboral* (Moreira, 1992). Another framework of collaboration has been the *Conselho Permanente de Concertação Social*²²⁶, even if for some time the CGTP was openly against its creation, at the end of the day it has been an active member (it has been a member since 1987, although the *Conselho* had been created in 1984 just with the participation of UGT representing workers).

In the intra-organisational sphere, after the divided situation during the dictatorship, there was a unification of trade unions after 25th April 1974: new big sectorial trade unions at a national or regional level were created. This process of enlarging the geographical scope went together with changes in the internal organisation of its officials and delegates, and the creation of more or less complex technical and

²²⁴ The creation of the UGT had as an organisational root the 'Carta Aberta' movement, created in 1976 by trade unionists close to the PS and the PSD (Moreira, 1992).

²²⁵ On the other hand, it has to be taken into account that there have also been some trade unions that have been independent from both main confederations.

²²⁶ Council where trade unions and employers' organisations meet with government representatives to deal with labour issues.

bureaucratic structures²²⁷. Thus as time went by, the role of the Workers' Commissions²²⁸ and participatory democracy at the workplace - characteristic of the revolutionary years (1974-75) - was losing ground, although in 1990 there were still over 300 workers' commissions concentrated in big companies in the industrialised districts such as Lisbon, Porto, Setúbal, Braga and Aveiro (Moreira, 1992). These workers' commissions are complementary to the trade union role.

In any case, the level of trade union membership in Portugal is low (although higher than in Spain) and is decreasing. According to Joana Ribeiro, Nuno Leitão and Paulo Granjo (1994) this is confirmed by three sources of information. Firstly, the trade unions' own declarations of membership: CGTP-IN in its seventh congress that took place in 1993 declared it had 877,000 members, compared to 1,186,194 in 1989, 1,408,716 in 1986, and 1,549,463 in 1983. However, those authors do not observe a transfer of members to the UGT, which is a far smaller trade union, with less than 200,000 members in Portugal as a whole. Secondly, this decreasing trend is confirmed by the interviews carried out by those researchers: just one in ten interviewees did not recognise a significant decrease, affecting both UGT and CGTP-IN; finally, a survey of workers indicates the breakdown in the numbers of new trade union members after 1981 (Ribeiro, Leitão and Granjo, 1994). However, according to Schmitter (1999), in 1989 CGTP had 550,000 members, UGT 350,000, and independents 100,000, being the global rate of affiliation of 28.6% of the employed workforce.

Beyond the quantitative significance of trade union membership, during recent years some transformations in Portuguese society have had an impact on trade unionists and their organisations. According to Paulo Marques Alves and the research team co-

²²⁷ However, both main confederations developed different kinds of organisative bodies: while the CGTP created territorial unions at a province level (*distritos*), the UGT did not have such geographical evolution.

²²⁸ The *Comissões de Trabalhadores* were a product of the revolutionary period and were created as decision-making bodies for all workers at the workplace (at the level of each company or business). The right to create them has been included in the Portuguese Constitution since those days, also after the fourth (and until today, last) Constitutional revision occurred in 1997. Thus article 54 starts with the following words: "É direito dos trabalhadores criarem comissões de trabalhadores para defesa dos seus interesses e intervenção democrática na vida da empresa" (see *Constituição da República Portuguesa*, Porto Editora, 1998).

ordinated by Marinús Pires de Lima²²⁹ (1992), between 1989 and 1991 international and economic changes (including the collapse of the Soviet Union, Portuguese economic growth, European social funding to the Iberian countries, and the increasing employment tertiarisation) affected trade unionists' points of view in some areas. Focusing on the town of Setúbal, in Lisbon metropolitan region, these researchers found that expressions such as 'working class', 'workers' movement' or 'worker' were rarely used in the debates organised in 1991 (in contrast with the situation in 1989). Some voices who considered that 'most workers were in the middle-class' did not have a reply from their mates. It happened in a context of socio-economic upward mobility, a process that provoked a destruction of working-class cultures and identities. It was also seen in the decrease in electoral votes' for the Communist party (PCP), and an increase for the centre-right wing party PSD. Furthermore, trade union membership suffered a significant reduction of participants (in a trade unionist's words: 'The bourgeoisie has the capacity to buy the best working class children and they sell themselves'). As Alves notes:

Estes processos de mobilidade social e de saída das organizações dos trabalhadores provocaram fortes reacções dos militantes com consciência comunitária. A sessão passou por momentos de forte tensão que culminou com o abandono da sala por parte de um militante, que se considerou magoado com algumas afirmações entretanto produzidas ...

A questão colocada pelo grupo das consciências comunitárias era acima de tudo esta: "*a burguesia tem capacidade para comprar os melhores filhos da classe operária e estes vendem-se!*" (Lima, 1992: 170) [emphasis in the original]

Among those trade union activists, the decline in membership and in class consciousness was increasingly accepted as fact. The reasons for such a 'trade union crisis' were diverse: it was due to the crisis of an organisational model built during fordism (or taylorism), which is no longer relevant. In those fordist times, trade unionism was based on a bureaucratic organisational model, that was a model that put distance between the top leaders and the rank-and-file, impeding the participation of the grassroots in decision-making processes. Thus researchers found complaints among workers about the distance between trade unions leaders and most workers' daily problems (because they hardly visit workplaces), and about the lack of

²²⁹ With advice from Michel Wieviorka and following the sociological intervention methodology developed by Alain Touraine.

‘creativity’ among top leaders to attract young people to trade unions²³⁰. However, the technical training of trade union officials is often also seen as necessary. Another polemic issue commented on was the control of trade unions by political parties (PCP in the case of the CGTP, and PS and PSD in the case of UGT).

According to Lima *et al.* (1992), on the one hand, Portuguese trade unions gain importance as institutional actors (i.e. ‘concertation’ agreements with employers and government, participation in consultative bodies in relation to key social and economic issues), and, on the other hand, trade unions also lose force in defending workers’ interests at the workplace.

However, in order to understand the organisation of both capital and labour, the role of the State (more concretely of government) has to be taken into account because it had a strategy of creating new social partners by reconverting the old ones (Santos, 1993). In fact, according to that author, one of the most clear characteristics of the Portuguese state is that it has been anti-statist. In other words, since the 1980s the government has been considered by its agents as a bad manager and even worse producer, providing justification for reinforcing a selected civil society and privatising the economy. However, this masochist discourse does not mean to consider itself as guilty because it knows how to distinguish the concrete state from the abstract state, which is the true *bête noire* (Santos, 1993). Such links between post-1975 Portuguese governments and the so-called civil society are also acknowledged by José Reis (1995) who considers that the distinction between ‘state’ (understood as government) and civil society is not clear. In a sense, both authors seem to agree with Gramsci (1930-35) when he considered the State as the addition of government plus civil society. Of course, it is not all the civil society that plays such a ‘statist’ role, but what can be called ‘institutionalised’ civil society. There is also a part of civil society that can be outside of the state, in the form of a subversive or reversionary social organisations or movements. It is not a question of rigid labels, but a question of changing processes.

²³⁰ One of the workers contacted goes beyond that and he considers that most leaders join trade union bureaucracies to obtain better life conditions and to escape work, then their opinions are no longer related to an understanding of labour problems based on a feeling exploitation of their own skin.

One association can be institutionalised in a given moment and place, but later can stop being so (and the other way round).

This is one of the main issues behind some 'partnership' practices, the institutionalisation of a part of civil society. Such practices are coincident with an increasing monetarisation of society. Thus such institutionalisation and monetarisation may be a translation into the collective organisational sphere of what happens also at individual level, where a part of the salaried working class with access to new ways of making money out of work (savings in stock markets, etc.) may initiate a process of detachment from the rest of the working class. It is like if a new 'social pact' it is being built on the basis of those who have more access to money, those who make a significant amount of money from money, not only from work, although they may also work some of the time.

Beside trade unions, a significant number of neighbourhood associations (the other biggest movement in mid 1970s Portugal) have also suffered institutionalisation (if they survived at all) after the revolutionary process of 1974-75. Since 25th April 1974, as Fernanda Rodrigues and Stephen Stoer (1993) noted, thousands of local organisations mushroomed across the country in order to face the daily problems that affected Portuguese people (housing, power supply, water supply and sewage, public telephone boxes, improvement of streets and roads, conservation of schools and medical posts, creation of creches, cultural and sport activities, etc.). The most common form of organisation was the *Comissão de Moradores* (neighbourhood commission) which were characterised by its wide, unitary and democratic inspiration, its openness and interest in a widespread participation because they tried to resolve common problems, the direct and close contact with people, and a flexible way of working²³¹. Furthermore, according to Maria Rodrigues (1999), there were local differences in the dynamics of struggle related to the conditions in each place, where neighbourhood commissions were created:

²³¹ It is worthwhile noting here that some of these *Comissões de Moradores* were organised on the experience and knowledge of members of the *colectividades locais*, which were local associations created during the 19th century, that had their great moment during the 1st Portuguese Republic (early in the 20th century, including cultural, educational, political, and artistic associations) and that survived the dictatorship although their activities were reduced to just sport and 'folklore' (Rodrigues and Stoer, 1993).

A diversidade sócio-ecológica das condições de alojamento das populações das «ilhas» do Porto, dos «bairros de lata» de Lisboa ou das zonas periféricas de Setúbal condicionou as diferentes dinâmicas das acções colectivas desenvolvidas nesses territórios urbanos nos anos de 1974, 1975 e 1976. (Rodrigues, 1999: 68)

However, after the initial social movement of *Comissões de Moradores* that mainly took shape in residential places, those organisations that survived the passage of years, became more oriented to provision of services. In 1976 the recession of that social movement started, the Portuguese government re-assumed some functions that had been carried out by people, and political-party divisions ended popular unity:

Os diversos movimentos populares são levados a institucionalizar-se e, por outro lado, a extrema partidarização da sociedade civil, neste época, permitiu, por vezes, contrapor aos interesses comuns os interesses político-partidários. (Rodrigues and Stoer, 1993: 31)

This institutionalisation process was added to a certain political apathy among most of the Portuguese population (in a similar way as happened in Spain after 1978). And it is in this context of increasing de-mobilisation that 'foreign immigration' started to increase in significant numbers. After the arrival of hundreds of thousands of *retornados* in the mid-1970s, it was during the 1980s that 'foreign immigrants' mainly from Lusophone African countries and Brazil landed in Portugal in significant numbers.

The organisation of 'foreign immigrants' in their own way in Portugal - that is, in immigrant associations - was very limited until the regularisation process of 1992, because association implies visibility, and this is precisely what clandestine immigrants try to avoid (Machado, 1993: 412). Maria Beatriz Rocha-Trindade (1992) had indicated that the increasing emergence of the association movement had had some successes in projecting images and cultural profiles, but not in the resolution of the problems that affected their communities. In any case, as will be explained below, during the 1990s there was a turning point and immigrants' organisations improved their condition. A kind of unity in diversity took place at certain times (in, for example, campaigns for 'foreign immigrants' regularisations). However, there are still different characteristics among immigrant associations, even those shaped by people of the same nationality. For instance, if the focus is on Capeverdeans, according to Cristina Carita and Vasco Nuno Rosendo (1993), this nationality has not been constituted as a

homogeneous discriminated, exploited and oppressed ethnic community. Their associationism is the product of an historical evolution and of a constant adaptation to the different stages of Capeverdean immigration. In the stage of institutionalisation, the association lost the representativeness in the community basis and associative weight, but this stage corresponds to a major degree of political and community intervention. Thus Carita and Rosendo emphasise that the Capeverdean community is a socially, economically and politically stratified group. Thus in relation to the years of arrival, there would be a significant difference between those who arrived before or during the 1960s, those that arrived later as unskilled workers, and the Capeverdean students that spend some years in Portugal. And this fact is reflected in their organisation in different associations. In this way, there have been several attempts to create a federation of Capeverdean associations, but until now it has been impossible to set one up.

In the following pages these issues will be analysed in more depth, and an attempt to plot the recent history and geography of 'foreign immigration' will be undertaken using a selected number of interviews and other sources of information (see Chapter 4). It starts with an approximation to the oldest immigrants' association still in existence (Associação Caboverdiana) and two religious minorities (the Islamic and Hindu communities) created on the basis of African and Asian immigration (first shaped mainly by students and *retornados*, later by foreign workers). Then, an examination to a second generation of associations and NGOs created in the 1980s that support immigrants in the neighbourhoods is carried out, including Moínho da Juventude, and Associação Guineense de Solidariedade Social (that decade also saw the transformation of the Obra Católica das Migrações to more immigrant-orientated activities). Furthermore, in the early 1990s, the shift towards uniting immigrant associations to deal with common basic problems (involving other social organisations), and the creation of anti-racist organisations (SOS Racismo, Frente Anti-Racista, Olho Vivo) are key achievements. Those are also the years of major trade union concern on the issue (CGTP had already supported immigrants since the 1970s but more attention was paid after the early 1990s). Finally, the recent process of creation of associations by immigrants from Senegal and Romania is outlined.

8.2.1 *First generation of immigrants' associations*

The oldest organisation created by immigrants from Cape Verde that is still running is the Associação Caboverdiana, founded in 1981 on the basis of the Casa de Cabo Verde, which had been created following the idea of a 'regional house' in the 1960s (when Cape Verde was officially considered part of Portugal).

Today Associação Caboverdiana is an association that includes members spread all over Portugal. However, before the 1974-75 revolutionary process most of the members of Casa de Cabo Verde were just an elite of skilled men over 40 years old who were based in Lisbon:

“Até à data a revolução do 25 de abril, o tipo de sócios desta associação eram essencialmente quadros técnicos, quadros com qualificação académica de nível superior, essencialmente, e então funcionários públicos também, da categoria superior, era por tanto uma franja acima da média, idades acima da média. Com as alterações depois do 25 de Abril modificou o tipo de sócios, havia mais trabalhadores, mais imigrantes trabalhadores indiferenciados, que se fizeram sócios da associação, e esses eram muito mais novos, na altura houve uma renovação da média de idade, a média de idade dos sócios baixou, neste momento posso dizer que está estabilizado, porque a entrada de sócios se faz muito lentamente.” (Alcestina Tolentinno)

After the revolution the situation changed, the name shifted to Associação Caboverdiana and the membership composition did so as well, becoming more diverse in 'class' terms. There are both unskilled workers and professionals and skilled workers. Most of them are men (80% in 1991, according to an internal report) between 30 and 50 years old (although its president in 1997 was a woman). When asked in what circumstances the association was created, a geographical answer emerged: they were looking for 'a space' to meet people, to affirm their own culture, an association adapted to the changing situation of the community and of Portugal:

“Tínhamos uma comunidade grande de imigrantes em Portugal, que precisava fundamentalmente de um espaço, de um espaço seu, de um espaço para se encontrarem, de um espaço de afirmação da sua própria cultura, de um ponto de encontro e de convívio. Progressivamente digamos foi assumindo e desempenhando diferentes papéis, como associação na sociedade portuguesa, consonante as circunstâncias e as exigências da situação das pessoas associadas em cada momento, os problemas vão sendo diferentes também.” (Alcestina Tolentino)

During the last 15 years the Cape Verdean associativism has suffered several changes and community associations have mushroomed in the suburbs and shanty-towns where most Cape Verdeans live. Today its functions are more of representation than before:

“Neste momento a situação da associação é diferente, esta casa já foi a casa aberta a todos os imigrantes, neste momento as comunidades convivem em bairros ... os caboverdianos moram em bairros juntos e lá têm as próprias associações ... Os jovens também têm o seu movimento associativo, portanto esta casa é mais uma reserva, uma reserva cultural e da representatividade da comunidade. Neste momento funciona mais como um centro, a casa de referência dos caboverdianos em Lisboa,... a casa que toda a gente conhece que se relaciona com Cabo Verde, ... a gente se encontra e também desempenha neste momento um papel muito importante de interlocutor com a sociedade portuguesa em geral e também com as autoridades portuguesas em tudo o que se relaciona com a condição do imigrante e com a cultura caboverdeana fundamentalmente.” (Alcestina Tolentino)

This transformation started in 1991, when a new executive committee was elected, and new members took charge of the association. Arnaldo Andrade, then a sociology student and today one of the leaders, remembers those moments in the following way:

“Algunos amigos meus disseram que na altura a Associação Caboverdiana estava a fazer um período de reflexão sobre a sua posição enquanto associação. Foi muito tempo uma associação com objectivos culturais e de apoio social, quando se tinha a sensação que se precisava ter uma intervenção cívica muito mais forte, e fui convidado a participar numa reunião sobre essa reflexão, porque de algum modo tinha experiência associativa que trazia de Cabo Verde e fui convidado por isso. E fui, já conhecia a associação desde o início, fui, participei nas discussões e de aí começou a surgir uma lista de candidatura à direcção da associação.... A minha lista ganhou e entramos para a direcção da associação caboverdiana e de facto fisemos esta vertente cívica, de luta pelos direitos cívicos digamos, que não havia antes.” (Arnaldo Andrade)

After that change of orientation, also in 1991, Associação Caboverdiana became co-founder of a platform of immigrants' associations, religious institutions, trade unions, and humanitarian organisations (NGOs). It first started in an informal way, but later their meetings became a formal committee called Secretariado Coordenador de Associações para a Legalização (SCAL) since 1992 (see Sub-section 8.2.4).

In 1990, the group that later won the presidency of the Associação Caboverdiana, had five main objectives (regularisation, government integration policy, votes in local elections, education policy, and housing) and a strategy, which included taking advantage of certain feelings of imperialist paternalism²³² in some groups of

²³² In Lisbon, in January 1998, a conservative Portuguese language teacher told her casual pupils (I was among them) a story according to which African Portuguese ex-colonies are seen by some Portuguese people as children who when they were teenagers wanted to be emancipated (independence days in 1970s) and to have nothing to do with their parents (Portugal); however, some years later (in the 1990s), when they were more mature, they (the former colonies) wanted to have

Portuguese society. What have been changing according to the situation have been their tactics, which included the creation of SCAL to lobby government and political parties:

“Na altura, em 1990, tínhamos um programa de cinco grandes pontos: um, legalização extraordinária; dois, uma política de integração por parte do estado; três, o voto nas autárquicas; quatro, a questão da política de educação, que está a ser a mais difícil; cinco, [habitação] ... Teve uma estratégia, e vai parecer falsa modéstia, inteligentemente mandada. Jogando primeiro com o paternalismo imperial que existe fortemente nesta sociedade - e existe, é um facto, existe e a gente joga com isso, funciona particularmente em relação aos partidos da direita -, jogar fortemente com a opinião publica nos mass media, forte aí, e foi decisivo ter conseguido pôr a igreja e os sindicatos do nosso lado. Portanto, fez um bloco de força demasiado grande para que o poder político não o respeitasse. Agora, levou cinco ou seis anos a fazer esse bloco, mas no fim o resultado é claro, porque a gente vai ao parlamento em que a lei sobre a regularização extraordinária em 1996, em plena Europa, é votada por unanimidade, é um caso unico da Europa. Leva algum tempo, imenso trabalho de construção tijolo a tijolo, de influência de organizações, de muita discussão e de muita perssuasão da gente que tem força e tem peso nesta sociedade.”
(Arnaldo Andrade)

The executive committee members are all volunteers, there is just a secretary as part-time salaried worker. However, in the headquarters of the association there is a bar-restaurant that employs five salaried workers. Associação Caboverdiana members are around 500, of whom 10% are active members participating regularly. This association includes members from other nationalities (Portuguese, from other PALOPs, other European countries, etc.), but in the assemblies only Capeverdean people can vote. The main way of raising money is the membership fee, although there are others like the organisation of cultural and leisure activities in their own bar-restaurant. They have also applied for funding to government and other institutions, such as the Lisbon city government (CML), the Governo Civil, some ministries of the central governments, international organisations and the European Social Fund.

Most of the members have Portuguese nationality or are Capeverdeans with authorised residence in Portugal. However, ‘de-documented’ residents can be also members of the association (it is only necessary to have the support of two current members to become a new member). The Associação Caboverdiana was one of the organisations that was more involved in the campaign for the regularisation of immigrants both in 1992-93

good relations with their parents (Portugal). It is a Christian rooted comparison based on the Prodigal Son tale, which shows an imperialist paternalism common among a significant number of Portuguese people.

and 1996 and most of its members obtained documents then. Their main objectives are in the cultural, social and political spheres:

“Primeríssimo, congregar os caboverdianos, juntá-los, e depois divulgar a nossa cultura na sociedade portuguesa e criar um espaço entre as culturas caboverdiana, portuguesa e entre as várias culturas que circulam em Lisboa, nós e as outras também. Um espaço onde as outras culturas, principalmente de expressão portuguesa, brasileiros, angolanos, moçambicanos, são-tomenses... encontra-se, divulgar a cultura, encontro de culturas. Também é um instrumento, digamos assim, de que a comunidade dispõe para defender os seus interesses e proteger a imigração ... nós não temos a solução para os problemas, mas encaminhamos às respectivas autoridades portuguesas, nós podemos intervir no sentido de encontrar resposta para as mais diversas situações.” (Alcestina Tolentino).

One key instance of such involvement in the defence of the Lisbonese Capeverdean community was the judiciary case against the extreme-right individuals responsible for the killing of a young Capeverdean man, Alcino Monteiro, in the Lisbonese Bairro Alto in June 1995. As a response, the Associação Caboverdiana hired a recognised lawyer for their legal prosecution. A demonstration (‘like in the 1970s’) was organised by immigrants’ associations and solidarity organisations to protest over the killing. However, in general, the strategy of immigrants’ associations has avoid street fighting and since 1991 has been to work ‘within the system’, within institutions and governmental bodies (one visible outcome was that there were two African MPs from the PS in 1998):

“Quando o ataque dos *skin heads* na morte do Alcino fez-se uma manifestação em Lisboa, organizada por nós, sindicatos e associações, uma manifestação de aquelas dos anos 70, em termos de dimensão e força só existem nos anos 70, mas durou pouco, porque nem sequer tem sido uma estratégia das associações de imigrantes lutar na rua, tem sido mais uma estratégia de lutar por dentro dos aparelhos políticos, de aí ter duas deputadas no parlamento ... por influência das associações, dos sindicatos e desta plataforma, por exemplo, a luta é também por dentro do sistema. Portanto no parlamento, pelos corredores ministeriais muitas vezes se resolve muita coisa, os corredores ministeriais que leva muito tempo a penetrar. É mais silencioso, as vezes menos espectacular e mais moroso no tempo, mas por vezes mais eficaz, consegue-se soluções.” (Arnaldo Andrade)

However, it is also seen as necessary to have media coverage sometimes, to have visible action:

“Uma vez ou outra é preciso ter uma dimensão mediática por trás para pressionar. É preciso dizer que nem todos nem todo o aparelho é permeável a este tipo de acção ... Em geral um estado de mobilização foi importante por exemplo quando as regularizações de trabalhadores, ter o apoio dos media, na luta contra o racismo, também tivemos o apoio dos media, tivemos um apoio sustentado.” (Arnaldo Andrade)

During the fieldwork, a key difference between Lisbon and Barcelona was discovered: if in Barcelona there are several diverse immigrant women's associations (even if transcontinental immigration is more recent than in Lisbon), in Lisbon immigrant women's associations hardly exist. Several reasons can be found, but, as will be shown below, the general conservative Portuguese society context and legal constraints have made women's issues a low priority for immigrants' organisation and NGOs.

However, according to Alcestina Tolentino, in the Associação Caboverdiana itself special training courses were organised for 20 young women in 'new professions' such as video, photography, etc. in order to avoid working as cleaners or domestic service (as most Capeverdean women in Lisbon do). However, their problem is that the association does not have the possibility of organising further training for them or offering them alternative jobs. The only way forward is to offer the young women information on other possible places where they could obtain help (just three of them obtained jobs related with the training). Another training course has been for cultural entertainers, but this is different because the participants are mainly students and organising activities with kids and youngsters is seen as a secondary issue at that point of their lives. Furthermore, in 1997, in the Associação Caboverdiana was starting a training course on services techniques for 45 young people, and in 1995 it carried out a training course for 30 cultural entertainers in the neighbourhoods to attend to children and youngsters.

Associação Caboverdiana have been also carrying out information campaigns for the registration of voters for the Portuguese local elections in 1997 (together with the Casa do Brasil), for the documentation of immigrants in 1996 and 1992-93, for improvement in health conditions, young mothers' education, and alphabetisation of adults during the 1980s. Some years ago they published a bulletin called *Montanha*, however it is not distributed any more because of lack of funding. Among their activities there has also been a campaign to improve housing conditions, co-operating with local authorities and central government.

This Capeverdean association also has cultural activities and celebrations such as independence day (the 5th of July). However, there are no formal programmes of cooperation with Cape Verde, beyond a few concrete actions.

In relation to coordination with other organisations in Lisbon, they also participated together with trade unions (both UGT and CGTP) in the elaboration of the recent foreign labour law. There are good relations with SOS Racismo and Frente Anti-Racista in order to tackle discrimination and other conflicts. The relations with some other Lusophone 'foreign immigrant' associations are also fluid, and regular:

“Com as associações caboverdianas, de norte a sul de Portugal estamos quase em contacto permanente ... e com as outras associações representativas de outras comunidades, sei lá, a Casa do Brasil é uma associação que nasceu nesta casa, hoje em dia está em São Pedro de Alcântara mas originalmente funcionava aqui, nasceu aqui e funcionava aqui, connosco, a Casa do Brasil, a Associação dos Amigos da Mulher Angolana, a Associação Guineense, a Casa de Moçambique, são todas associações amigas.” (Alcestina Tolentino)

However, there are no relations with European or North American immigrants' associations. In fact, the president of the Capeverdean association understands 'immigrant' as 'unskilled worker': “Não há propriamente imigrantes da Europa em Portugal, há alguns quadros e estudantes europeus, a não ser os imigrantes dos países do Leste, romenos, albaneses. O resto são quadros de empresas, não há imigrantes não qualificados” (Alcestina Tolentino).

They had punctual relations with employers' associations although only during the regularisation process, when there were contacts with CIP (industrial employers, including the construction sector) in order to ask them to tell their members to implement their role in the process.

There have been several unsuccessful attempts to create a federation of Capeverdean associations, but differences between them are too significant to allow unity beyond specific problems:

“A federação não está funcionando, em abril [1997] tivemos um encontro das associações para discutir precisamente os problemas da federação e criámos dentro da federação um grupo de trabalho que está a fazer um documento sobre esta questão, resolver os estatutos, fazer propostas novas para ver se a gente consegue dinamizar, a federação está um pouco parada. Neste momento as associações, embora a federação não esteja a funcionar, estão bastante activas, nós temos encontrado muito, temos discutido muito os problemas da nossa migração ... a associação caboverdiana, para as eleições autárquicas criou, constituiu, uma plataforma autárquica, entre as associações, uma plataforma que se chama unidade caboverdiana, e essa estrutura apresentou-se a todos os partidos políticos portugueses que estão na AR... e discutiu as propostas e linhas programáticas para defender os interesses da comunidade caboverdiana...” (Alcestina Tolentino)

One of the difficulties of creating a federation is 'social class'. There are completely different kind of associations among the so-called Capeverdean community: from elitist

associations for people with at least secondary or higher education degrees, to neighbourhood associations mainly shaped by unskilled (and sometimes illiterate) workers. Associação Caboverdiana is an 'inter-classist' association, although its leaders belong mainly to an educated 'petit-bourgeoisie'. In the spring of 1998 a congress of Capeverdean emigrants located all over the world took place in Cape Verde in order to discuss such issues:

“Há vários tipos de associações e eu estou a trabalhar num congresso dos caboverdianos na diáspora, em Cabo Verde, e uma das questões que vamos discutir é precisamente os vários tipos de associativismos que temos: temos associações que são claramente elitistas e que se dizem elitistas e o têm nos estatutos: ‘entrada somente a gente que tem educação secundária ou superior’ isso é um tipo de associações que existem ... tem uma por exemplo que é a Associação dos Antigos Alunos do Ensino Secundário de Cabo Verde, fica em Carnide ... E depois compara por exemplo com a associação da Buraca, que é uma associação dum bairro clandestino, ou das Portas de Benfica, são os dois extremos. Depois tem associações mais inter-classistas como a Associação Caboverdiana, que tem um pouco de tudo mas os dirigentes são basicamente gente recrutada numa classe, como é que te diria, em sociologia a gente chama isso pequena burguesia técnica de quadros médios, técnicos... com um passado militante, basicamente isso militância política associativa, normalmente gente com um pendor de esquerda.” (Arnaldo Andrade)

Associations of 'foreign immigrants' may become nodes in transnational human networks, and, if they have a physical place, this location can be connected in a transcontinental or global way in order to co-ordinate activities or information exchange:

“O que temos claro enquanto associação é relações com outras associações caboverdianas espalhadas pelo mundo. Em outubro [1996], estivemos em Roterdão num encontro dos emigrantes caboverdianos na Europa, há dois anos tivemos aqui em Lisboa um encontro dos quadros caboverdianos na diáspora, já houve um encontro em Luxemburgo há um ano, agora estamos a programar para o 98 um encontro nos Estados Unidos... Há muitas comunidades caboverdianas espalhadas, portanto o contacto é permanente,... com outras ONGs espalhadas pelo mundo, a relação nasce em Cabo Verde e depois prolonga-se, as pessoas se conhecem, depois contactam...” (Alcestina Tolentino)

In the aforementioned 1998 congress of Capeverdeans abroad (and people with a Capeverdean background), residents of America, Africa, Europe and even Asia met in order to discuss common problems of Capeverdeans emigrants and a world-wide coordination between themselves and Cape Verde. One of the main issues was the role of associativism in transnational solidarity to tackle problems in one country:

“Os caboverdianos estão espalhados um pouco por todo o mundo, os Estados Unidos, o Canadá, o Brasil, a Argentina, da Suécia até Itália, em África vários países, Senegal, Angola, Gabão, Costa de Marfim, Moçambique e na Ásia muito pouco, só Macau, uma pequena comunidade em Macau pois em fim isolada. Mas nós temos este movimento que criamos quatro anos atrás, em 1994, começámos a trabalhar nisso antes, no 1992, o primeiro congresso foi aqui em Lisboa e reuniu caboverdianos de 26 países, a ideia é um pouco criar uma especie de solidariedade entre os

emigrantes caboverdianos e poder agir em concertação uns com os outros ... e por outro lado com as pessoas que estão em Cabo Verde e com o desenvolvimento de Cabo Verde, são basicamente essas duas coisas. Agora, na solidariedade dos que vivemos na emigração um dos temas fundamentais é o papel do associativismo, tem tido um papel cada vez mais dinâmico e mais importante, agora temos muitas associações, as associações em Portugal têm umas características, na Holanda têm outra, nos Estados Unidos têm outra, então vamos juntar isto numa grande discussão com 600 congressistas, mas isto tem muito efeito, porque tem um efeito mobilizador de um pouco saber que as experiências do que cada um faz, e como é que cada um tem conseguido fazer as coisas, e o que pode ser útil e em que podemos ajudar aos outros. Isto é saber que quando há uma crise nas minas no norte de Espanha onde trabalham muitos caboverdianos, nas Astúrias, que nós aqui de Lisboa podemos ajudar, podemos dar alguma ajuda, é importante saber isso.” (Arnaldo Andrade)

As it has been mentioned in chapter 3.1., the geographer David Harvey (1996) has been suggesting the necessary creation of a global alliance of grassroots social movements to oppose capitalist world-wide exploitation and destruction (a new international of hope, as the zapatistas claimed). In fact, the constitution of People’s Global Action (PGA) against the World Trade Organisation in 1997 is an instance of what can be done with such an aim in mind (their actions against capitalism in over 40 countries around the globe on 18th June 1999 demonstrated its potential and, in a way, follow some of Harvey’s ideas). However, that global Capeverdean congress was not thought of as a grassroots event. Firstly, it was designed to be mainly for ‘quadros caboverdianos na diáspora’ (in other words, for educated Capeverdean emigrants), but later it became a bit wider. Secondly, instead of supporting a horizontal transnational grassroots world-wide social movement (such as PGA), the Capeverdean congress was reinforcing a nationalist approach to social mobilisation, based on being Capeverdian (thus globalisation may be also used to reinforce nationalism). Furthermore, it had an institutional ingredient, with the participation of the Cape Verde government, representative members of all Portuguese political parties and of some Italian political parties, representative officials from some Dutch local governments, public personalities from the United States and elsewhere.

This institutional side can also be observed in the relationship with political parties. In the case of the Associação Caboverdiana in Lisbon, although there is political diversity among the membership (mainly PS, PCP and, less, PSD), preferences in the executive committee are for PS, and they have permanent dialogue with several local authorities ruled by this party.

However, Tolentino considers that only the small far left-wing political parties (PSR, UDP) had been in the shanty towns before the vote in local elections was granted for Capeverdeans:

“Estes pequenos partidos não têm grande, digamos, força social, mas as pessoas dialogam sempre connosco ... Até aqui quando se fazem campanhas eleitorais, por exemplo nas câmaras municipais, os únicos partidos que entram nos bairros dos nossos emigrantes e mostram na televisão os problemas dos bairros são estes pequenos partidos de extrema esquerda - o PSR, o UDP, e os outros - são os que vão aos bairros e demostram, denunciam as situações, até aqui tem sido assim.” (Alcestina Tolentino)

Among the problems of the Capeverdean community in Lisbon that are indicated by Alcestina Tolentino the following ones can be underlined: forced integration in the labour market in jobs that are in the bottom strata (where conditions are especially precarious), lack of access to health services and decent housing, lack of information, poor knowledge of the Portuguese language and failure at school. The origin of most problems is in the workplace:

“As condições de trabalho estão mal, o trabalhador não tem condições para ter uma casa, não tem condições para alugar uma casa, para pagar uma casa normal do parque habitacional, então vai construir uma barraca,... num terreno clandestino vai construir uma barraca para viver com a família, depois dessa barraca vem outra, vem outra, vem outra, e facilmente se contrui um bairro, um bairro todo ele clandestino em condições péssimas e degradadas, e é nessas condições que os filhos nascem, os filhos são criados e forma-se uma espécie de ghetto, um getho social onde as pessoas estão lá, as crianças estão lá, vivem lá, então quando são transpostas para a escola têm um conjunto de problemas de contacto com a sociedade portuguesa, não conhecem, apesar de viverem cá não conhecem nem a sociedade nem os seus códigos e tem dificuldades de comunicação com essa outra língua. Nós os caboverdianos temos uma língua materna diferente e as pessoas portanto que têm de frequentar o sistema de ensino português não conhecem a língua. Os problemas de comunicação têm como consequência o insucesso escolar, há um abandono precoce da escola por parte dos jovens... sem ter atingida a escolaridade obrigatória. E faz com que fiquem sem perspectivas de vida, sem formação profissional e ficam em risco da delinquência, são populações de risco, há zonas muito sensíveis.” (Alcestina Tolentino)

8.2.2. Religious minorities and immigration

Apart from the Capeverdean association, another group mainly shaped by immigrants that was originated during the late 1960s is the Islamic community, composed of three main waves of immigrants (students in the 1960s from the then African colonies, political exiles in the mid 1970s after PALOPs independence, and ‘economic’ immigrants from diverse origins since the 1990s):

“Os muçulmanos que estão em Portugal estão antes do 25 de Abril, a comunidade foi fundada em 1968... mas vieram das ex-colónias, vieram de Moçambique para continuar os estudos, vieram de

Moçambique, Guiné, Angola, que estavam sob o domínio português, por tanto era o tal ultramar que eles disseram. Depois do 25 de Abril a comunidade cresceu, por várias razões, porque muita gente foi obrigada a emigrar por razões políticas, sociais, económicas, religiosas até os anos 90, 92, 93, na altura em que houve mudanças em Moçambique, como também na Guiné, em Moçambique houve vários partidos a participarem nas eleições... houve uma abertura, muitos muçulmanos que viviam em Portugal que vieram de Moçambique regressaram porque a situação era diferente. Acontece neste momento que a imigração que estamos a falar, os que vieram do Norte de África, os que vieram de Meio Oriente e do Oriente, isto é Índia, Paquistão, Bangladesh, estamos a falar de pessoas individuais, de pessoas que vem para Europa à procura de um melhor emprego, as razões podem ser não as mesmas, mas é mais a razão económica.” (Sheikh Munir)

“A comunidade já está organizada em associação desde 1968, aprovada oficialmente como Comunidade Islâmica de Lisboa e Portugal, com estatutos ... antes do 25 de Abril, antes do golpe de Estado, antes da revolução, a comunidade estava reduzida a uma dúzia de alunos, de estudantes, oriundos de Moçambique, que estavam a estudar aqui na faculdade. Então tiveram a necessidade de criar uma associação, ... não havia nada oficial, e aqueles estudantes, liderados pelo que foi o primeiro presidente da comunidade, Ali Mamede ... fundaram, ou tiveram... a intenção de fundar, uma comunidade islâmica aqui em Portugal. Sucede que na altura o regime, que era um regime dictatorial, de Salazar, não autorizava a formação de associações de outros credos diferentes do cristianismo, o cristianismo aqui pesava, por tanto o estado e a igreja estavam de mãos dadas. Eu lembro-me de ele ter dito que para fundar esta comunidade ele tinha sido chamado por umas sete ou oito vezes à PIDE, que era a policia de segurança aqui ... só em 1968, com muita dificuldade e condicionalmente foi autorizada a constituição da comunidade islâmica ... só a partir de 1975, depois da revolução, com a vinda de vários muçulmanos de Moçambique, de Guiné Bissau, então sim, o número aumentou, dos muçulmanos aqui em Portugal, e então teve um papel mais preponderante. Hoje deve haver cerca de 20000 muçulmanos em Portugal, mas só a partir do 75-78 é que deu uma força maior e a partir de 79 que se dá a fundação da construção da mesquita de Lisboa, em 79, e em 85 é inaugurada a primeira fase da mesquita.” (M. Yiossuf Mohamed Adamgy)

The process of building the mosque in central Lisbon, the meeting-place of the Islamic community, is a key issue in understanding the history of the association after the problems under the dictatorship. And even before they built the mosque, it is interesting to take into account their meeting places to understand the evolution of the association, from a foreign country embassy to an imperial palace ‘offered’ by the Portuguese government in 1980:

“Nós inicialmente não temos mesquita, em 1978 é fundada a comunidade, mas não havia mesquita, as orações e as reuniões de carácter religioso eram feitas numa embaixada islâmica, que, supõe, era o Egipto, na altura. Depois em 1980, digamos assim, o governo cedeu um palácio para funcionar provisoriamente um lugar de culto islâmico até o 1985 ... em 1985 inaugura-se a primeira fase e então... a sede da comunidade passa a ser a mesquita e devolveram o palácio,... era o Palácio Imperial, em Lisboa, na altura era o Primeiro Ministro do governo Mota Pinto, Professor Mota Pinto, e pronto, a a partir de 1985 a comunidade está lá e foi promovendo, desenvolvendo as suas actividades, foram acabando outros departamentos da mesquita. Ainda agora este ano foram inauguradas salas de culto, houve todo um trabalho com o apoio da embaixada da Arabia Saudita e agora... houve um grupo de muçulmanos que reuniram-se para arranjar a cozinha com o refeitório... lá na mesquita, e hoje estamos aqui, são trinta anos.” (M. Yiossuf Mohamed Adamgy)

If they received an extraordinary amount of money they would have finished the construction of the mosque, their meeting place, earlier. The land is public property but was offered by the Portuguese government to the Islamic community. In order to build the parts that are already completed they obtained funding from Islamic countries, the biggest contribution was from Saudi Arabia, but all Islamic embassies in Lisbon participated in a commission in order to support the construction of the mosque. The problem was that there were delays in receiving the money which provoked delays in the building works and thus increased the costs:

“Na altura da fundação da mesquita muitos países ditos islâmicos, árabes, cooperaram, contribuíram cada um com uma parte, sendo o maior, a maior contribuição da Arábia Saudita, mas todos eles, o Iraque, o Irão, o Paquistão, o Egipto, Líbia, etc. Todos eles colaboraram e contribuíram para a construção da mesquita, é certo que o que eles contribuíram na altura chegaria para a construção da mesquita, evidentemente, só que houve umas alturas em que aquilo ficou parado à espera do dinheiro, então, o que é que aconteceu? à medida que ficava parada a construção as coisas iam encarecendo, então a verba inicial talvez nos tivesse chegado para completar toda a mesquita, de aí a razão de ter-se demorado desde 1979 até 1985, ano em que se inaugura só a primeira fase, depois foram fazendo-se a segunda fase, e ainda não está acabado, ainda há mais coisas para fazer.” (M. Yiossuf Mohamed Adamgy)

Since the early 1990s more Muslim immigrants have arrived in Portugal, mainly from Pakistan, Senegal, Bangladesh and Morocco. The Imam of Lisbon's mosque underlines that the reason why there is a new wave of immigrants with a Muslim background is simply economic. He seems to be afraid that the level of islamophobia that exists in other European countries may arrive in Portugal, and he makes clear that there are no shadowy interests in the arrival of Muslims:

“O motivo dessas imigrações não é político, não é porque eles querem criar o partido islâmico, o partido que quer derrubar o governo ou que quer acabar com Ocidente em termos de islamizar Ocidente, não, o objectivo é a procura de melhor emprego.” (Sheikh Munir)

For Lisbon's Imam there are no big conflicts affecting Muslims especially, the main conflicts suffered are related to racism: “Racismo, porque a pessoa sendo racista por si já cria um conflito, mas Portugal é um país de certo racismo, e este certo racismo a gente poderá dizer que não, mas surge. Tirando isto não há assim grandes conflitos...” (Sheikh Munir). Although for others, like Adamgy, there is also islamophobia:

“Isto não é só aqui, há uma tendência em todo ocidente de pensar e fazer mentalizar aos que não pensam assim de que o Islão é o inimigo do ocidente, há uma tendência, que o islão é fundamentalismo, que islão é o extremismo, que o islão é radicalismo, que o islão é terrorismo, há uma tendência de passar esta mensagem, a comunicação social, os mass media é muito

tendenciosa nestes aspectos, não é imparcial, ... como combater uma máquina? como combater uma televisão que entra nas casas todas e que nós não temos aceso? o único aceso que nós temos é através da literatura, e é isso que nos estamos a explicar que o terrorismo não tem nada a ver com o islamismo, que o terrorismo não tem nada a ver com a religião, o terrorismo pode ser islâmico como pode ser cristão, como pode ser judaico, mas no entanto só se fala do fundamentalismo islâmico.” (M. Yiossuf Mohamed Adamgy)

The access of the Islamic community to television is limited to five minutes every three weeks at RTP2, which is seen as insufficient time to explain religious issues. As will be shown in the following pages, this situation contrasts with the media power of the Obra Católica das Migrações and the Catholic church as a whole. An alternative means for them is the Internet, where they write articles to explain what words like ‘fundamentalism’ mean:

“Com internet, eu muitas vezes ponho artigos a esclarecer o que é fundamentalismo, para explicar que não é isso, até porque a palavra fundamentalismo está aplicado erradamente, porque qualquer religioso que defenda uma religião é fundamentalista, o Papa é fundamentalista, porque quando ele faz o seu discurso religioso ele tem que se fundamentar na bíblia, qualquer juiz é fundamentalista, quando ele tem que dar a sua sentença ele tem que se fundamentar na lei, no código penal ou civil ... Dizer fundamentalista no sentido pejorativo, no sentido negativo, acho que em termos da palavra está mal aplicada.” (M. Yiossuf Mohamed Adamgy)

In relation to *shador* there are no problems in Portugal. The imam Munir considers that what happened in France is a cultural and political conflict, not a religious one. Furthermore, it also has to be taken into account that most Muslim young girls in Portugal do not wear the scarf. Adamgy notes that sometimes when something is banned (as happened in France) people’s reaction is to do what has been banned. In any case, their response to both racism and islamophobia is quiet and pacific, trying to explain the truth: “A nossa resposta mediante aquilo que é dito, a nossa resposta é uma resposta intelectual, é uma resposta calma, pacífica, é uma resposta de tentar transmitir a verdade... Cada caso é um caso, pode não ter uma resposta imediata, mas mais tarde terá uma resposta” (Sheikh Munir).

Although there is no official data, according to several sources Muslims in Portugal number between 15,000 and 20,000 people (just around 100 are converted Muslims), mainly concentrated in the Lisbon metropolitan area. Among them around 3,000 are members of the Islamic community (the minimum monthly fee is 100 escudos per person), and among them 30-40 are active members. In Lisbon’s Mosque it is possible to find between 12 and 30 people in the daily prayers. According to the Imam, the fact

that a significant number of Muslims work in construction (this means long working days) makes it difficult for them to attend daily activities. Those that attend the ceremonies are often the Muslims who arrived during the 1960s and 1970s who have Portuguese nationality and a permanent job or their own business. Their age is mainly over 45 or below 18 years.

The Islamic 'community', according to its leaders, is shaped by all those people who share the Muslim religion, and it includes and goes beyond associations of particular nationalities or origins, as for instance the association of Pakistani Muslims or the Bissau-Guinean Muslim association.

All the work done for the Islamic community is voluntary work, but there is a salaried worker doing secretarial tasks and another one cleaning the building. Its work consists in helping to improve housing conditions, a monthly benefit to over 100 people in need, and a provision of basic food (rice, flour, milk, etc.) once a year. They do not have public funding, only private donations. Although they try to extend their scope, their resources are very limited in comparison to other Portuguese charities:

"Há não muçulmanos que também nós apoiamos... não é muito, mas qualquer que extenda a mão leva qualquer coisa. Nós também não podemos comparar com a Santa Casa da Misericórdia, é uma miniatura da Santa Casa da Misericórdia, não temos apoio do governo, é o apoio de muçulmanos que residem em Portugal só, o nosso apoio é limitado." (Sheikh Munir)

Comunidade Islâmica has no relations with trade unions or with employers' organisations (strategies like those of French Muslims pushing trade unions to have rooms for praying at the workplace were unknown among the Muslims interviewed in Portugal). With SOS Racismo and other Portuguese NGOs there is a regular 'cold relation' via postal mail. Although there are some Muslim rank and file members of trade unions and some Muslim small businessmen, as a community they try to avoid any involvement in labour conflicts (including clandestine work in the Expo 98 building site), either because they consider those as 'personal' problems or because they are afraid of endangering a source of income:

"A mesquita é um lugar de culto, um local de encontro e cada um discute o seu problema, mas o que está fora da mesquita - trabalho, casa, assuntos pessoais - não são transmitidos aqui na mesquita. A não ser que haja um problema e que a pessoa ou as pessoas queiram que a

comunidade possa interferir, a comunidade possa tentar solucionar, então ali a comunidade faz o seu papel, mas cada um tenta resolver o seu problema à sua maneira.” (Sheikh Munir)

“Sobre o trabalho clandestino, é que o próprio estado o está a fazer, aquilo é estatal [a Expo 98] ... Os sindicatos falam, mas as pessoas precisam de comer, as pessoas precisam de viver, a necessidade obriga, ... Só vamos a prejudicá-los, o poder económico vai-se vingar sempre, o poder económico é que domina o mundo, hoje a justiça é posta de lado.” (M. Yiossuf Mohamed Adamgy)

Cultural and social activities organised by the Mosque are open to everybody (for conferences, Arabic language lessons, exhibitions, weddings, etc.), with the exception of religious ceremonies. The main language of communication in the Mosque is Portuguese, although there are other language spoken, including Creole, Urdu, Gujarat and Arabic. Some of the newcomers do not speak Portuguese and it is seen as a major obstacle to integration, they do not trust the Portuguese government to solve these problems due to bureaucracy and because the Muslim community in Portugal is still young:

“Portugal tem um sistema totalmente diferente de funcionamento, é muito complicado, é muito burocrático, ... a comunidade é uma comunidade nova, dentro de 25 anos as coisas serão diferentes, completamente diferentes, nós estamos a acompanhar o crescimento e se nos comparamos com outros países é indigno fazer a comparação, nos outros países a comunidade islâmica existe há anos, já estão mais enraizadas, as pessoas já conhecem, ... em França, em Inglaterra.” (Sheikh Munir)

The Islamic community has been helping during the regularisation process providing legal advice to muslims. They have also been participating in an informal discussion process of the recent Portuguese law on religion freedom, but not in equal conditions with the Catholic church which obtained the official recognition of the government (although according to its Constitution Portugal is a secular country, in reality the Catholic church has an impressive influence in State issues):

“Em termos oficiais só os católicos é que foram convidados,... as outras religiões não foram convidadas a participar no Parlamento. Houve vários debates não oficiais onde nós participámos, mas a participação oficial, ir ao parlamento e debater: ‘olha, nós é isto o que nós queremos’, oficialmente ninguém ainda foi, ninguém ainda participou ... o governo tem este dever de dar a mesma liberdade religiosa a todos, há aqui certas coisas que a gente não concorda com a igreja católica. Como é que o governo pode convidar meia dúzia de católicos para estudar sobre a liberdade religiosa das outras religiões?” (Sheikh Munir)

The Imam of Lisbon’s mosque considers political participation important, but recognises that prior to 1998 they were not successful in having top officials in mainstream political parties nor MPs owing to the recent character of Muslim presence

in Portugal in modern times. However, in the past Ali Mamede, the foundation member and president of the community until 1995 was member of the PSD and obtained top positions under the previous conservative government (he was president of LUSA, the official Portuguese news agency, and ENATUR, a public body for tourism). Some links have remained after his death, the president of the PSD visited the mosque early in 1998.

Today there are a few members of the Islamic community that belong to the PSD and the PS, but according to Adamgy there are no Muslim members in the PCP because it is an atheist party, or in the PP because it is a Catholic party. However, also according to Adamgy, the only local government that is funding a Muslim association is the Câmara Municipal de Loures, where the mayor and most councillors are members of the Communist party (PCP). The differences between the PSD and PS government are not significant for some members of the Islamic community: “Não se nota assim muita diferença, porque sobretudo está mais ou menos, são governos da direita, embora o socialista diz ser de esquerda, mas é mais da direita que o que é da esquerda, bom, ele é de esquerda quando quer (*laughs*)” (M. Yiossuf Mohamed Adamgy).

Relations with the Lisbon local government have been limited to concrete issues, but with a poor record for efficiency: in the late 1980s they applied to have a Muslim cemetery (when Nuno Abecassis was mayor) and it was not until the late 1990s that land was provided in Lumiar cemetery, two mayors later (the property will be municipal, but it will be used by the Muslim community). There are other mosques in the Lisbon metropolitan area (Laranjeiro, Almada, Odivelas) and in Porto there is a room available for prayers. The executive committee of the Islamic community is composed of 10-15 members elected in an annual assembly where both men and women participate. However, today the committee is entirely staffed by men (in the past there was one woman).

The Islamic Community in Lisbon does not have an official bulletin or a magazine. However, there is an association called Al-furqan that publishes a periodic journal every two months on Muslim issues (cultural, religious and community information). Around 1,000 copies are distributed. This cultural association was started in Portugal

in April 1981, and as time went by they started publishing pamphlets and later books on Islamic topics (in 1998 they had already published 108 items in Portugal).

In Lisbon there is also a Hindu community that arose from immigration from Mozambique to Portugal after the independence of this African country. Before 1975 only a few Hindu families were living in Portugal, but they were enough people to become a bridge between the newcomers and the rest of Lisbon's society and, together with the more recently arrived, to create an association:

“Havia poucos hindus aqui, tal vez alguma meia dúzia de famílias e alguns estudantes naqueles tempos. Com a vinda de muitos moçambicanos, ou seja, muitos indianos ou hindus de Moçambique para Portugal, nasceu a ideia de criar a nossa associação, para mantermos vivas as nossas tradições e as nossas culturas” (Sr. Dolar)

Officially the Comunidade Hindu de Lisboa was created in 1982, although informally there had been meetings since the late 1970s. From then on the idea of building a social centre and temple for the community was gaining force. It has been the main objective of the association until now. The land was bought by the Câmara Municipal de Lisboa, and the location was decided taking into account its proximity to the areas where there is a strong presence of Hindu community members. The temple is still under construction and there is no date for completion because it depends on donations, most of them come from the Hindu Portuguese community itself, although from time to time visitors from Britain have contributed extra money; according to the interviewed member they have not asked for funding from the Indian government. The temple and the social centre are built on a large piece of land. The parts already finished show an impressive socio-religious construction.

So far the Hindu community has been mainly concerned in the building of the temple, but they have been also conducting activities to improve the welfare of the community and, to a certain extent, the rest of Portuguese society. They were planning to extend social programmes when the construction comes to an end:

“Ainda estamos numa fase de instalação, mas o nosso projecto consta de ajudarmos os necessitados também. Muito em breve nós vamos começar a criar bolsas de estudos, ajuda aos pobres, aos necessitados. Não quer dizer que não tenhamos feito essas coisas, temos feito numa escala muito pequena, neste momento. Futuramente estamos a pensar em expandir, melhorar um pouco a nossa ajuda, não só para os hindus, mas dentro das nossas possibilidades para outros povos também. Porque afinal nós somos hindus, a nossa filosofia é fazer bem ao próximo, ...

porque afinal é um povo que nos recebeu aqui, e acho que para este povo nós temos que fazer alguma coisa também... Não temos problemas com o povo português, convivemos muito bem com eles todos, e achamos que temos que fazer por eles alguma coisa, ... para isso todos os anos no nascimento de Mahatma Ghandi, que é o dia 2 de Outubro, costumamos realizar uma campanha de recolha de sangue com o apoio do Instituto Português de Sangue, na nossa comunidade temos cerca de 400 dadores,... e não é nos que marcamos o destino desse sangue, é o Instituto Português, portanto, damos um pouco de nós para um desconhecido, damos vida para alguém que é necessitado, é a nossa forma de viver também.” (Sr. Dolar)

Among the current activities to improve the community social situation are training courses (mainly professional and English/Portuguese language training) funded by the *Integrar* programme of the European Union. Communication has also been a key issue for the community: although for some time were trying to publish a magazine, finally radio has been the media chosen since 1991, as they have rented a commercial metropolitan Lisbon radio station called *Radio Orbital* (101.9 FM) every Sunday, initially just for an hour, and currently from 10 a.m. until 3 p.m. The main aim of the programme is to spread Hindu culture and music. On the media scene, they have also taken advantage of the seven minutes and thirty seconds available for them in the second public TV channel RTP2 every three weeks (in the programme *A fé dos homens*, Men’s faith). Their main language of communication is Gujarati, and on Saturdays they organise lessons in their social centre, located in the temple.

Most Hindu people in Portugal are members of the 500 family-strong Hindu association. They pay a monthly fee of 1,000 escudos per family (plus an initial subscription of 5,000 escudos per family). To become a member it is necessary to be introduced by a person known by the community, and then the proposal is considered by the committee:

“Qualquer sócio tem que ter uma certa idoneidade, uma certa cultura, não é discriminação, mas é necessário uma certa dignidade para ser sócio duma instituição como a nossa ... Uma boa conduta é suficiente, e quer dizer que, há restrições disto ou aquilo mas é suficiente que alguém o conheça” (Sr. Dolar)

The only other permanent meeting place apart from their temple (located in the area of Lumiar, Lisbon) is a small place in Porto available for praying. They consider that today it is easier to practise their religion in Portugal compared to the situation during the early 1980s. Their relations with the central government, have seen through the Alto Comissário para a Imigração e as Minorias Étnicas (ACIME), and with the Câmara Municipal de Lisboa have been mainly via Conselho para Imigração e Minorias

Étnicas. However, relations of the Hindu community with NGOs are scarce, and with political parties and trade unions are nil. With other immigrant associations relations are also scarce, but they have institutional relations with the Rotary club. In fact, there is a gap between old Hindu immigrants from Mozambique (who are in charge of the community and work as traders or professionals) and the new Hindu immigrants from India who work in construction. An instance of such distance is that they were not involved as other organisations in the 1996 regularisation process because most of their members already had documents. Thus, in a similar way as the Indian association in Barcelona, the Lisbon's Hindu community is closer, in some aspects, to most immigrants from enriched countries. However, unlike that Barcelona's association, this Hindu group is related to local institutions that deal with ethnic minorities issues (like ACIME and the consultative council of Lisbon's local government).

As has been shown, there are several differences between Associação Caboverdiana, Comunidade Islâmica and Comunidade Hindu, but one factor they have in common is that the origin of all three was in a small group of people who arrived as colonial and post-colonial migrants and who had a 'middle-class' background (students and skilled workers from the Portuguese colonies). However, as time went by, more people with a working class or peasant background have joined these associations (although their involvement is limited because of their precarious living conditions). In any case, today their executive committees remain in the hands of those with more experience and time available (who are normally those that arrived in Portugal during the 1970s or 1980s, and who usually work as professionals).

8.2.3 Neighbourhood-oriented associations and the re-orientation of trade unions during early 1980s

After the aforementioned associations appeared in Lisbon city centre, other kinds of immigrants' organisations were created in the neighbourhoods where most poor 'foreign immigrants' live, *bairros de lata* on the urban periphery. Among them Moinho da Juventude stands out because its activities and involvement in Alto Cova da Moura, a poor neighbourhood in Amadora. Alto Cova da Moura was built during the 1974-75 revolutionary process: some Capeverdean workers squatted a large territory owned by

a rich Portuguese landowner who flew to Brazil after the Portuguese dictatorship came to an end. In this neighbourhood 6,000 people currently live, most of them with a Capeverdean background, although there are Portuguese, Angolan, Guinean and Senegalese minorities.

The history of Moinho da Juventude starts when an adult couple (a Portuguese man and a Belgian woman) arrived in that neighbourhood in the mid 1980s, where a Capeverdean comrade of the domestic service trade union was living. They found a poor area, but with a lot of community life, friendship, and mutual help: a sharp contrast with the individualistic situation of the middle-class neighbourhoods in Lisbon (infected with neoliberal ideology and practices). They also squatted on some land in the neighbourhood and built their own house. At the starting point of any project with people, there are two main possibilities: to impose a pre-determined vision (behaving as a vanguard) or to follow what people want to do (as Zapatistas in Chiapas learned to do in the early 1990s). In Alto Cova da Moura, they opted for the second way, giving priority to the needs of women and children with their own involvement in the design and development of activities seeking empowerment:

“Aqui há duas maneiras de poder construir uma associação, um projecto. Uma delas é de deliniá-lo e depois impôr à própria população o seu próprio projecto. E a gente seguimos o caminho oposto, que é que as pessoas tiveram mais iniciativa, as pessoas do bairro participaram muito, mas foram duas ou três pessoas que no início deram muito de si para o arranque, a participação ... A associação nasce duma maneira muito pequena, muito simples, havia duas camadas sociais que a gente percebia que eram muito desprotegidas, que eram as mulheres e as crianças. Não havia sede, começaram-se a reunir as mulheres, porque as mulheres aqui no bairro a maioria faz o serviço doméstico, as limpezas, e não tinha consciência dos seus direitos, a nível de salários, e começámos a discutir com elas este tipo de situação, duma maneira informal. E ao mesmo tempo para as crianças que só tinham o espaço da rua para brincar, começámos a criar uma pequena biblioteca onde eles podiam levantar os livros, levantar para casa, lerem; rasgavam os livros, estragaram, mas os livros cumpriram a sua tarefa. E a partir de aí como evoluíam as pessoas, com a participação das pessoas é que se começou a construir a nossa própria sede, começou na parte de baixo, onde está a funcionar o jardim de infância,... mas sempre com a participação no desenvolvimento, até na definição de programa, de projectos, a gente sempre havia pessoas a discutir com elas.” (Eduardo Pontes)

At the beginning they found scepticism among people but also interest in discussing common problems and looking for common solutions, as for instance organising literacy courses:

“As pessoas são muito receptivas para discutir os seus problemas, por um lado são muito cépticas,... porque já não acreditam muito que em Portugal alguém os apoie... mas quando se começam a juntar e começam a ver que podes dar apoio aos filhos, nós temos por exemplo

alfabetização e as pessoas podem aprender a ler, temos feito aqui uma série de iniciativas para a criação de emprego, acções de formação. As pessoas começaram a perceber que essas acções, se elas própria se envolver nisso, podem melhorar as suas condições de vida.” (Eduardo Pontes)

The building of the association was parallel to the building of a place to meet, a place to organise activities and to enjoy social life. Today it has 500 members who sometimes pay a symbolic fee of 600 escudos a year, plus 100 escudos for enrolment, but it is not relevant. The construction of the social centre was done with voluntary work during weekends and people’s spare time:

“No inicio nós não tínhamos casa própria para funcionar, então arranjámos uma casa muito pequenina que era uma barraca, depois acabámos por comprar aqui um terreno e começámos a construir tudo isto com a participação dos moradores, trabalho voluntário, porque nós não tínhamos dinheiro, durante os fins de semana, o tempo livre, a gente dava ajuda, pintava-se, guarnecia-se, e à medida que o espaço foi crescendo começaram-se a criar uma série de actividades para dar resposta às necessidades do bairro, porque era um bairro que não tinha infraestruturas de apoio assim social aos moradores e a associação tenta dar resposta a esse tipo de problemas.” (Eduardo Pontes)

However, the sexual and international capitalist division of labour dictates that the jobs available for unskilled women of impoverished countries are mainly limited to domestic service or cleaning. Aware of such constraints, but unable to challenge it in the short term -- only a long-term educational project or, more likely, a radical social and politico-economic transformation may change such a situation --, Moinho da Juventude started organising short-term training courses for women on domestic service skills, owing to the urgency of obtaining income. These included cooking, using washing machines, sewing and other skills.

The lack of alternatives forced people to reproduce an unfair division of labour. The late 1980s and early 1990s in Portugal were years of neoliberal policies, a sharp decrease in social mobilisation, and increasing monetarisation of life. Without feasible alternatives people reproduce the system continuously, even if they are aware that the system is unfair and there are individuals responsible for injustices. However, although there were general difficulties, for Capeverdean women in Alto Cova da Moura it was possible to improve their situation in a number of areas through participation in the domestic service trade union (because they could develop a class consciousness and be aware of their rights at work), and through participation in the women’s group of

Moinho da Juventude, because they could confront their husbands who were working in the construction sector in other areas without taking care of the children.

On the first issue, women's workers' organisation in trade unions, it is interesting to take into account the situation of the cleaning services trade union in the late 1970s and early 1980s in the Lisbon metropolitan area. As Nelia Johnston - today an Angolan trade unionist leader (affiliated to the CGTP) - indicates, it was not easy to be a black foreign worker in those times, even in the cleaning services (one of the economic sectors where it is easier to get a job), because Portuguese women were suspicious of them:

“Foi um bocadinho difícil, porque é o seguinte: as portuguesas não estavam habituadas a trabalhar com pessoas negras, pronto, e elas tinham uma ideia um pouco errada das pessoas de fora, e pronto, foi um contínuo durante uns anos que elas tinham a ideia que as pessoas de fora não eram pessoas normais, como as de aqui, que as pessoas negras eram outras pessoas, eram outra gente, e foi difícil elas habituarem-se a nós. Nós nessa altura ainda sofremos bastante, mesmo discriminação, não só a nível da entidade patronal, mas também a nível das colegas habituarem-se a nós, que não estavam habituadas a trabalhar connosco, não estavam habituadas a trabalhar com pessoas de outra raça, e foi bastante difícil ... na altura quando nós entrámos não tínhamos os mesmos direitos, não, elas trabalhavam oito horas semanais, e nos só tínhamos direito a trabalhar os fins de semana, que eram os dias de descanso delas, ... só depois com o tempo, nós começámos a reivindicar com a ajuda do sindicato, é que começámos então a trabalhar o horário igual e o salário igual.” (Nelia Johnston)

However, there was a turning point in the situation, when Portuguese women were increasingly rejecting these kinds of poorly paid jobs and the company managers started to be more willing to contract foreign workers:

“Com o tempo a empresa começou a meter mais trabalhadoras imigrantes porque as pessoas de cá, as pessoas portuguesas, era difícil arranjar pessoas de cá para trabalhar: trabalhavam dois dias e despediam-se, as antigas, as pessoas que estavam cá há muito tempo mantinham-se no trabalho, as pessoas portuguesas, mas as novas que fossem para lá, trabalhavam um, dois dias, e despediam-se. É um trabalho duro, é um trabalho lixo, então eles optaram por meter imigrantes, porque sabiam que os imigrantes, pronto, aceitavam qualquer tipo de trabalho, porque precisavam, porque era uma luta pela sobrevivência. Aceitavam que tinham que sobreviver, vinham duma terra completamente diferente, duma cultura completamente diferente, tudo diferente, e qualquer trabalho que dão trabalhavam mesmo, e então elas começaram a contratar mais trabalhadoras imigrantes, a única dificuldade que começámos a ter é que as próprias chefias tinham um complexo, não gostavam muito dos trabalhadores imigrantes, mas eles eram obrigados a trabalhar com eles e começaram a ter mais convivência porque sabiam que precisavam dos trabalhadores.” (Nelia Johnston)

In some cases, new immigrants do not know what a trade union is and/or how it works. It may take some time to see how things work in a new country:

“O sindicato já ia ao local de trabalho na altura, já ia ao local do trabalho por causa das minhas colegas, das outras colegas, e tomaram conhecimento de nós. Tínhamos um desconhecimento do sindicato, nem sabíamos qual era a actividade do sindicato, que é que o sindicato fazia, porque nós andávamos a descobrir, e o sindicato começou-nos a ajudar, a dar luz: ‘você tem que fazer isto assim, têm que fazer o outro’. E nós começámos a seguir os concelhos do sindicato, e conseguimos ultrapassar essa barreira, e começámos a dar um horário mais alargado, mais horas de trabalho ... O sindicato foi ao nosso encontro, ao local de trabalho, a incentivar, a dar conhecimento dos direitos que nós tínhamos, que é que nós tínhamos que fazer, que nós éramos trabalhadoras iguais como outras quaisquer e que nós tínhamos que reivindicar os nossos direitos.” (Nelia Johnston)

On the second issue, women’s self-organisation, after debates on maternity, the family and other issues, these Capeverdean women became aware that that situation was not fair and it had to be changed. It was not an external imposition, but a process of common reflection on their daily lives. It was not an easy process, at the beginning there were husbands that did not allow women to go to meetings, but after a while and with common effort it was possible to change such macho attitudes. However, it has to be taken into account that these attitudes are also common among Portuguese men, and are by no means exclusive to Capeverdeans. A general situation characterised by the weakness of the feminist movement in Portugal (an instance is the recent defeat in the referendum on the right to abortion) and conservative attitudes at home (influenced by strong conservative Catholic values) is not conducive to overcoming macho attitudes.

Furthermore, in Moinho da Juventude they also stressed the importance of work with Capeverdean children and youths, trying to avoid teenagers’ dropping out of school and offering them alternative activities to drug dealing (professional training, excursions and sport, for example):

“Sempre demos muita importância principalmente aos jovens, principalmente aos caboverdianos, as crianças, porque não têm pré-primário, são duma cultura diferente, uma língua diferente, as escolas não estão preparadas para aceitar essas crianças, ... até porque eles têm uma maneira de ver, de sentir de estar, estão habituados ao espaço da rua. Não estão habituados a espaços fechados, a esses esquemas todos tradicionais do ensino, porque este ensino cada vez diz menos aos portugueses, então aos caboverdianos (*laughs*). E começámos a dar muita atenção a este tipo de demandas, porque há uma idade que nós consideramos crítica, que é entre os doze e os treze anos, que é quando os meninos deixam a escola e ficam na rua, e aqui no bairro embora não haja muito consumo de droga aproveitam-se destes jovens para correios de droga. É criar-lhes outra alternativa, tentar por um lado dar-lhes um acompanhamento escolar, motivá-los para o ensino e para a assimilação do saber, e por outro lado a pré-formação profissional, essa formação profissional enquadrada com actividades lúdicas, expressões, debates, projecções de vídeos, intercâmbios, vão os jovens de aqui para outro sítio, Évora, Beja, outra associação que a gente tem contacto. Uma actividade que eles agarram muito bem é o desporto, nós temos aqui cinco grupos desportivos de jovens, que já estão federados na federação, que tem um equipa, a

disciplina, é um caso único, a libertação de energia, convivência e dar-lhes um bocado a filosofia que o desporto não é só ganhar, saber perder.” (Eduardo Pontes)

Another form of activity consists in giving support, through a group called ‘Esperança’ (Hope), to young Capeverdean women who are single parents. Initially, only modest steps can be taken, because of a lack of confidence in themselves. However, in the long term, although there are obvious difficulties, it is seen as necessary to change the political consciousness of young people in order to challenge their problems:

“Incidentalmente vai desenvolver uma nova perspectiva política, de formas mais superiores de resolver os problemas, ... mas temos que começar duma maneira mais recuada, que as pessoas se convencerem a través duma tomada de consciência que são pessoas e que a sociedade as tem que aceitar e que elas têm que intervir na sociedade, e têm esse direito, e até chegar lá temos que começar duma maneira mais recuada. A gente disse às pessoas que tem de votar e tem direito a voto, mas isso não disse nada, é uma coisa abstracta. Eles começam a pensar: eu vou trabalhar e eles vão-me pagar a metade do salário dum branco, não tenho segurança social, por tudo ou por nada podem-me prender e ficar-me na esquadra. É preciso começar duma forma mais recuada.” (Eduardo Pontes)

In fact, a number of the children who were educated in Moinho da Juventude over a decade ago are today active members of the association. One of the daily problems they had to resolve was to stop police arresting young black boys randomly, to enable young people born in Portugal but with Capeverdean nationality (the majority) to play football in the Portuguese leagues, and to regularise those without documents. In the 1996 regularisation process almost all the neighbourhood obtained residence permits, but most of them are still ‘foreigners’ and need to renew the permit regularly, which is not easy and, consequently, there is a high number of non-renewals due to bureaucracy. In order to carry out some projects they have applied for funding to the European Union, which allowed them to contract some psychologists and sociologists to help them in their activities, and to offer to youngsters small grants as an alternative to income from drug dealing.

8.2.4. New immigrants’ groups and Catholic church re-orientation

In 1987, a few years after the creation of Moinho da Juventude, the Associação Guineense de Solidariedade Social was created in Lisbon. However, the roots of the association, according to its leader Fernando Ká, are in the independence of Guinea Bissau, because from then on those who emigrated or were already living abroad (and

did not go back to the country) were considered as ‘traitors’ by their government (and also ignored by the Portuguese government). Thus, the creation of a mutual help association became necessary for the survival of Guineans in Portugal:

“Nessa altura houve praticamente o abandono por parte do governo da Guiné-Bissau porque nessa altura quem emigrava era considerado inimigo do país, que não queria contribuir para o desenvolvimento do país, eram considerados traidores ... foi nessa altura que as pessoas que estavam cá sem o apoio do governo da Guiné e também não do governo de acolhimento, neste caso do governo português, evidentemente nos tínhamos que organizar pela defesa dos nossos próprios interesses dentro do possível e foi nesse contexto que surgiu a Associação Guineense ... com todas as dificuldades que acarreta quando uma pessoa sai do seu país, emigra para um país estrangeiro, e a associação surge de tentar ajudar as pessoas, encaminhar as pessoas, tentar um diálogo com as instituições portuguesas no sentido de tentar fazer alguma coisa em prol dessas pessoas, e dar apoio moral ... e ao mesmo tempo atraindo algum apoio da sociedade portuguesa para ajudar os imigrantes guineenses cá em Portugal, e foi muito difícil mas hoje a associação felizmente tem conseguido fazer muito trabalho de interesse para a comunidade, para a integração da comunidade guineense em Portugal, e não só, também tem contribuído duma forma positiva para a integração da comunidade africana cá em Portugal.” (Fernando Ká)

The role of immigrant people who had been living in Portugal before PALOP’s independence is a key to the success of some associations (as it has been seen for Capeverdeans, Muslims and Hindus). As Fernando Ká indicates, his presence in Lisbon since 1969 as a student in a Catholic seminary (Franciscan) was helpful in order to set up the association because he knew the country well and because he had a lot of Portuguese friends, some of them ‘influential’:

“Eu vim cá antes da independência, vim para cá estudar, estive nos franciscanos, no seminário, vim para cá em 1969. Por isso também conhecia bem este país, tenho muitos amigos, alguns amigos são influentes, e graças a esses amigos portugueses que deram apoio substancial para que a associação possa ser hoje uma organização muito respeitada na sociedade portuguesa, até mesmo no estrangeiro, e na Guiné também. Sobretudo para a comunidade guineense em particular e de modo geral a comunidade africana, esse conhecimento, essa influência da minha presença desde há muito tempo, foi um factor decisivo porque eu tenho tido a oportunidade que a maioria dos meus irmãos guineenses não tem, então é por isso que eu também penso que tenho a obrigação de fazer mais por aqueles que mais precisam também, utilizando a influência, o conhecimento e o tempo.” (Fernando Ká)

The genesis of this association is closely related to the history of post-colonial Guinea Bissau, as it was the outcome of a political movement (Movimento Bafatá) that decided to have a social affairs branch (Associação Guineense de Solidariedade Social), which finally split from the political ‘mother’:

“A ideia não foi minha, só que depois acabei por ficar com uma espécie de criança que fica orfã de pai ou mãe, pois depois uma das partes tem que ficar com a criança sozinha, não é? A ideia não foi só minha, aliás, a associação nasceu num contexto político, inicialmente, quando houve o fusilamento na Guiné-Bissau, que nós criámos uma organização política que hoje é o segundo maior partido da Guiné, que é o Movimento Bafatá, ... E depois é que achamos bem, para além da questão política, haver uma organização social de apoio à comunidade que estava aqui completamente abandonada à sua sorte. Eu acabei por dimitir-me do partido nessa altura, porque estava a haver uma certa manipulação política numa associação que é criada para todos os

guineenses independentemente das simpatias políticas de cada um. Eu depois acabei por ficar com a associação sozinho, e acabei por ficar até hoje, graças ao apoio dalgumas pessoas amigas a associação tornou-se uma associação com a dignidade que todo o mundo reconhece.” (Fernando Ká)

Currently this Guinea Bissau association claims 2,420 members and has become probably the largest African association in Portugal, including members from other African countries. They have carried out projects to build social housing for African families with the support of the European Union and local government in the Lisbon metropolitan area²³³ (they claim to be the only African association doing so in Portugal); they have developed professional training projects for the integration of young people in the car industry; they have also organised courses for the training of cultural entertainers; they give food to 100 families (500 people) every month with the support of the Banco Alimentar Contra a Fome; they give legal advice on regularisation, police harassment and labour conditions issues; they give support to people who suffer illness; and, furthermore, if they can not resolve problems, they direct people to other sources of information.

The Guinea Bissau association has better relations with the Câmara Municipal de Lisboa than with the central government, although with the Alto Comissário para a Imigração e as Minorias Étnicas (ACIME) relations are also good. On the other hand, the Guinean association is an active member of SCAL (which they see as a positive instrument for social organisations), but relations with trade unions are scarce, and there are no relations with the main Lisbon's mosque (although there are several Muslim members). At the international level, Fernando Ká has friends among black members of the British Labour party, and he regards their role as a model for Portuguese black community (in fact, he has invited them to meetings with African communities in Lisbon a couple of times).

The headquarters of the association is located in the working-class estate of Chelas²³⁴ (Lisbon) and is open eight hours a day, except at weekends. It is designed as an

²³³ At the time of the interview, in 1998, they were managing a project with the Câmara Municipal de Lisboa of 30 council flats (10 of them were already built and publicly advertised).

²³⁴ Chelas is an instance of a neighbourhood built to host poor immigrants and other poor Portuguese people who were living in shanty-towns. The hip hop singer General D (1997) has mentioned Chelas in a song as an instance of 're-ghettoisation', of re-creating ghettos with concrete.

association of services with three permanent salaried workers (the president and two female secretaries: one from Angola and the other one a Portuguese local) and five permanent volunteers (among them one Guinean and four Portuguese people):

“... uma associação que presta serviços aos seus utentes, vários serviços, uns porque a própria associação pode fornecer esses serviços, outros porque a associação faz um encaminhamento junto doutras entidades para resolver os problemas que as pessoas trazem cá. E tem um apoio do governo para o funcionamento.” (Fernando Ká)

Among the members there are immigrants from other African lusophone and francophone countries, but there are no Asians. On the other hand, young people in the association gained autonomy, and a recently created African young people's association called GENOVA (*Geração Nova*) meets at the same place, but they organise their own activities. The current location of the association was decided by chance, as it was offered by Câmara Municipal de Lisboa in 1992 when they outgrew their previous premises (near Praça Espanha, in Lisbon city centre). However, currently Fernando Ká considers it useful to be located in a popular neighbourhood: “para melhorar os problemas das pessoas o bairro é o sitio para ficar e não o centro da cidade”.

Although Fernando Ká was trained to be a priest, the Guinean association has no formal links with Catholic church beyond its participation in the SCAL. The branch of the mainstream church in Portugal is Obra Católica das Migrações (OCM). It was created in the early 1960s as a body of the Catholic church focused mainly on the problems of Portuguese emigrants abroad. These people are still their concern, but since the late 1980s they have also been involved in activities to support ‘foreign immigrants’ in Portugal. Their work is mainly with people coming from Africa and it is undertaken in collaboration with the local parishes in order to provide spiritual, social, and legal help:

“Em que é que pretendemos ajudar? na linha espiritual, na linha pastoral, quer proporcionar espaços e acolhimento a estas pessoas, de tal forma que eles possam mais facilmente fazer a sua vida religiosa, mas desde o ponto de vista social, nós procuramos dar um apoio desde o ponto de vista jurídico, papeis que eles precisam, documentos, legalização, fazemos isso muito aqui, e depois estarmos atentos também às suas necessidades de família, no sentido de alimentação, de procurar trabalho, também resolver alguns problemas de habitação de eles, apoio conforme é possível, doença, nós estamos atentos e apoiamos essas pessoas, temos um serviço social aqui na

Obra de Migrações. Esta Obra de Migrações é um organismo da igreja em Portugal e que está dedicada a tudo o que respeita os migrantes, os que estão fora e os que estão dentro.” (Padre Manuel Soares)

Its geographical area of work is Portugal as a whole. In the 20 dioceses into which it is divided the country, OCM has a referent in the diocesan secretary of migrations that is attached to each Bishop. However, in relation to immigration issues, they deal mainly with the Lisbon area dioceses. Obra Católica das Migrações is a small organisation that has a group of three people working with gypsies (*Roma* people), a group for social action, a group to manage some government funding for the poor, and a director with a secretary for administrative work. In total they are 10 people (7 working with foreign immigrants plus 3 working with *Roma* people). Among them there are no ‘foreign immigrants’, although there is a Brazilian woman as salaried worker who is mainly in charge of the secretarial tasks of the SCAL that uses the rooms of the OCM as an office. The rest of people are volunteers who just receive pocket money for meals (except the director and another priest that are paid by the Catholic church). Apart from those ten people, there is a dozen sporadic volunteers who help them irregularly from time to time. Its headquarters is located in a building of the Catholic Church near Lisbon’s city centre.

Another form of activity for OCM is helping foreign students from impoverished countries who suffer delays in receiving their grants. The Portuguese government provides some funding to cover their basic needs (food, etc.) during such periods.

During its ten years of history OCM has been a leading organisation campaigning for the legalisation of immigrants and lobbying the Portuguese government to implement the regularisation processes in 1992 and 1996. More recently, they have been involved in negotiations on the new foreign labour law. On the other hand, one of their main tasks is to support families in need, including single parents, and newcomers (the OCM sometimes help them to pay for a room in a hostel). They also have some lawyers that help them to provide legal advice. Other activities they organise include Portuguese language lessons to 30 recently arrived foreign immigrants from Pakistan, Bangladesh, Anglophone and Francophone Africa (and also a handful of people from Eastern

Europe). The other NGO that is providing Portuguese language courses to these kinds of foreigner is Olho Vivo, based in Queluz.

OCM has maintained some contacts with the Muslim community in Portugal, especially with a couple of its leaders. Furthermore, there are good relations with SOS Racismo and Frente Anti-Racista. OCM used to have a radio programme in a Catholic radio station, but not longer. They do not have a newsletter, but Padre Manuel Soares considers it is unnecessary because they have easy access to mass media (some of them are owned by the Catholic church itself or it has a significant share, as in one of the main TV channels), and to internal communications in the Catholic church.

As it can be seen, there are some differences between the Catalan-Spanish situation and the Portuguese situation of the Catholic church organisation in relation to 'foreign immigration'. If in the first case Caritas is in charge of most immigration programmes, in Portugal there is another small specialised body dealing with such issues, the Obra Católica das Migrações. There are several reasons for that, including the general crisis of Caritas in Portugal in terms of human and material resources, and its lack of interest in helping foreigners in a country with a large number of people below the poverty line:

“Caritas portuguesa está em bastante crise actualmente e eles tem muitos poucos meios e poucas pessoas, de maneira que actualmente neste momento é um momento em que não podemos contar com Caritas. Existe, mas está muito fraca neste momento, de maneira que estamos a trabalhar sozinhos ... Eles saberão melhor as razões, talvez menos sensibilidade da população, talvez má gerência, o certo é que eles já quase não têm projectos, precisam rever a sua acção e a sua organização ... Nós tentamos, nós tentamos de facto implicá-los e interessá-los neste apoio, mas eles francamente nunca sentiram a altura e a vontade para vir, portanto não deram assim muita preocupação, falta de meios tal vez.” (Padre Manuel Soares)

Among other activities OCM is developing, there are moves to help 'foreign immigrants' who suffer conflicts in the workplace. Such support is usually done via trade unions, but if necessary it can also be done by contacting the employer (although this is very rare). In the shanty-towns the amount of work done by OCM is small, as they only offer help to priests or other Catholic people who are working there giving psychological, moral or material support to poor people.

According to Padre Manuel Soares there has been a decrease in the activities of the Conselho de Imigrantes e das Minorias Etnicas of the CML, in part due to a lack of

interest from the city government, but also due to declining interest among associations. He considers it would be a useful tool if it was active, and had more funding.

In relation to the Expo 98, it was a kind of taboo the question of the labour conditions among 'foreign workers' and, once commented, no one wanted to be responsible for that:

“A Expo é um local bastante fechado, não é fácil entrar lá, contudo há lá sindicatos que vigiam, que estão presentes, que acompanham,... são os sindicatos que podem agir e ajudar as pessoas. Nós contactamos os sindicatos, mas como associações é muito difícil entrar no meio do trabalho, temos conversado com os sindicatos, e temos conversado também com a fiscalização do trabalho, isso sim, mas assim directamente é difícil na Expo, os temas do trabalho tem de ser tratados com prudência, porque nós não somos reconhecidos nem pelos trabalhadores nem pelas entidades patronais, só podemos agir através dos sindicatos.” (Padre Manuel Soares)

Such supposed difficulties in gaining access to the work sites of Expo 98 are exaggerated, as was found during the fieldwork in early 1998 when visiting several public works sites. However, a specialisation of tasks among the social organisations interested in helping immigrants seemed to exist that impeded co-operation between them. The workplace is just for trade unions, as neighbourhood problems are just for some associations, and charity work for others (although there are a few multi-functional associations, it was exceptional to find all-terrain associations).

At a supra-national level, OCM is member of the Catholic Commission of Intra-European migrations, a network of the European Episcopal Catholic Commission. The international programmes include information campaigns, helping prisoners and lobbying on legal issues. Concrete projects with other Catholic European partners include a programme to help Portuguese temporary workers during the grape harvest in Rioja, Spain.

While OCM was reorganising in the late 1980s, a significant number of immigrants arrived in Portugal from Brazil. After some time they organised their association (Casa do Brasil de Lisboa) which was one of the 'youngest' groups to join the common platform of social organisations for immigrants regularisation called SCAL. These processes will be explored in the following pages.

8.2.5 Third generation of immigrants' associations and social organisations in the early 1990s: a common platform

When Brazilians met in Lisbon to create an association they called it Brazil House, thus it was conceptualised as a meeting place. Casa do Brasil de Lisboa (CBL), according to Eliana Gaspar Dipas (a member of the executive committee), appeared informally in mid 1991 when two groups of Brazilians who were living in Lisbon met and decided it was necessary to have a well-prepared association because the Brazilian community was growing in numbers. On the one hand, a group was shaped by people belonging or close to the Partido dos Trabalhadores, PT (Workers' Party): this group started in 1988 after the Brazilian presidential elections, when several Brazilian individuals went to the embassy in order to create a last-minute campaign (*boca de urna*) for the PT candidate *Lula*, and they met each other there. Meanwhile, a second group had been created around a charming Brazilian journalist who knew quite a lot of Brazilians in Lisbon. Thus those two groups organised a meeting in a rented place where 50-60 people attended in order to launch the association, which was legally created in January 1992 as Casa do Brasil de Lisboa²³⁵. This Brazilian House has focused its activities in Lisbon, although they have contacts with a Brazilian group in Oporto and during the regularisation process they provided information to the Algarve, where there is also a significant number of Brazilians (today most of the members have Portuguese documents, although some members are *de-documented* immigrants).

One problem in the self-organisation of Brazilians in Portugal is that, although they are concentrated in Lisbon and Oporto metropolitan areas, they are spread within both urban spaces and there are no 'neighbourhoods of Brazilians'. This fact is considered in the Casa do Brasil as good for integration, but bad for organisation. Thus they have a pleasant headquarters in the city centre (Bairro Alto, where there is the 'bohemian'

²³⁵ Since the late 1980s the economic and political crisis in Brazil had been getting worse with Collor de Melo in power, and Portugal became an attractive place for skilled and semi-skilled Brazilian workers as it had recently joined the EEC, and there were language and sometimes family bonds between both populations.

night life in Lisbon) that makes it attractive to visit. They share the place with two other Portuguese organisations: "We are the one who give life to the space, without us it would be dead", says Eliana Gaspar Dipas. They have difficulties paying the rent every month, and the city council has offered them another place to go (although far away from its current location) but they prefer to make an effort every month to stay in the Bairro Alto.

Currently Casa do Brasil has around 100 members paying fees (700 escudos every month plus an initial fee of 1200 escudos), but at their height there were 500 members, most of them semi-skilled or skilled workers (there are no employers). One problem is that there is a higher rate of change of residence among Brazilians, but also, according to Eliana Dipas, in Europe there is a fear among people in general of compromising, of participation, of responsibility, and it also affects Brazilian immigrants. They have a lot of success in the number of passive attendants at some celebrations (such as the weekly party on Friday nights) but not in active participation. Among their members there are not just Brazilians (who are mainly adult women), but also Italians, Germans, English people, and Africans from the PALOPs (one member of the executive is from Guinea Bissau). However, they are looking to a younger generation, because most of the current members have been leading the association for over seven years. An obstacle to this is the fact that the Brazilian community is composed mainly of adult people, and there are few young Brazilians living in Lisbon. In the executive committee there are nine members, three of whom are members of the finance commission, and another four are members of the electoral board. All members are voluntary people, but in the association there is a salaried secretary working part-time.

Apart from the membership fees, the Casa do Brasil has obtained funding for several specific projects: one was backed by the Brazilian embassy for the implementation of a documentation centre; another was backed by the Câmara Municipal de Lisboa to carry out an information campaign during the regularisation process in 1996; another one was backed by the Governo Civil of Lisbon and Oporto for the electoral census. However, the results of the latter campaign were poor: only 440 Brazilian were registered to vote in local elections, and just three of them stood as candidates (two of them for the CDU, a coalition where the PCP is the main party involved, in Nazaré and

Aveiro, and a third one as an independent in Coimbra). The process of registration was more successful outside Lisbon:

“Cá na região grande de Lisboa a gente se averia, é muito difícil saber, mas o número de brasileiros recenseados é muito baixo, que se explica porque é uma imigração muito recente, pouco ligada ainda, depois a questão jurídica,... já os caboverdianos foram um número bastante alto, mas poderia ter sido muito mais alto se o processo fosse menos burocrático, menos atrapalhado como costumam ser os processos aqui em Portugal. Os caboverdianos são comunidades mais antigas, com mais problemas locais, mais concentrados nos locais, a questão local é muito mais importante para os caboverdianos, bairros precários, bairros de lata, a questão da habitação, os brasileiros estão mais espalhados, a questão local não é importante para os brasileiros, as questões importantes para os brasileiros são as questões nacionais, legalização, emprego, as questões que não é a autarquia...” (Carlos Viana)

The Câmara Municipal de Lisboa has also funded the creation of an educational mobile board on Brazilian culture, and the Centro de Investigação e Documentação Amílcar Cabral (CIDAC) gave them support for producing an educational video on Brazilian cultural issues for Portuguese schools. From the European Union they obtained funding to set up infrastructures for the house (a TV, video recorder etc.). Specialisation among associations is noticed again in the case of Casa do Brasil which does not organise training courses and does not have permanent legal advisors. However, they have been participating in local festivals (in the Bairro Alto, but also in Loures) selling traditional food and drinks to raise money to keep the Brazilian House running. Another form of funding has been the Secretariado Coordenador de Associações pela Legalização (SCAL), the aforementioned platform of organisations campaigning for the documentation of ‘foreign immigrants’ living in Portugal (it includes immigrants’ associations, NGOs, religious organisations and trade unions) which was formally created in December 1992. This committee has been co-ordinated by the priest Padre Manuel Soares who is also in charge of the Obra Católica das Migrações:

“O SCAL é um grupo de associações que nasceu num encontro geral de representantes de associações, estavam muitas, e nessa assembleia escolheram um grupo executivo que representasse todas as associações e que coordenasse o trabalho de todas. Esse grupo executivo é o SCAL, Secretariado Coordenador de Associações para a Legalização. Naquel momento o que nós preocupava sobretudo era a legalização dos imigrantes, então esse SCAL que contem associações de imigrantes, sindicatos, associações portuguesas, reuniu-se e eles pediram para eu coordenar o próprio grupo, e então temos trabalhado a esse nível de secretariado com associações.” (Padre Manuel Soares)

However, the organisation of that first SCAL general assembly was carried out by immigrants’ associations such as Associação Caboverdiana and the Guinean

association, but they needed a person to chair the platform, and thus the director of OCM was elected to hold this post. In fact, informal meetings had started in 1991:

“Desde 91 a associação de que sou dirigente, a Associação Caboverdeana, começou a participar numa espécie de plataforma. E era uma das fundadoras duma plataforma que metia associações de imigrantes, instituições religiosas, sindicatos, e organizações humanitárias ... Em Lisboa, em Portugal, estes quatro tipos de associações faziam uma plataforma que nós encontrávamos para concertar posições ... Antes de ser o SCAL começou por ser uma plataforma informal, depois formalizámos como SCAL e é dessa altura que datam os primeiros contactos com os sindicatos, porque os sindicatos faziam parte da plataforma e de certo modo tentávamos tanto quanto possível pôr de pé uma estratégia ou estratégias para enfrentar o que era novo na altura: Portugal acabava de aderir ao acordo de Schengen, e portanto havia toda uma política pública de estabelecimento de novas regras em relação à vida da imigração em Portugal e, digamos, esta Plataforma funcionava como reacção às políticas públicas.” (Arnaldo Andrade)

There have been other general assemblies of SCAL, for instance, in one of them the organisations participating elected a representative to a government body in charge of the analysis of the regularisation process, the Comissão Nacional para a Regularização Extraordinária (CNRE). The person elected was António Tavares, member of SOS Angola (see sub-section 6.2.2.). Other organisations that are members of SCAL include CGTP, UGT, Oikos, Casa do Brasil, and Associação de Coordenação de Imigrantes Angolanos (ACIMA).

Since the beginning, there have been the same organisations involved in the SCAL, however, in 1998 they were already thinking of changing, becoming more formal (they were just an informal platform), possibly enlarging the group, in order to become partners of the government in immigration issues, as trade unions are on labour issues.

“Queremos dar uma estrutura ao SCAL que seja mais forte e mais oficial e entre as nossas funções poderíamos ser também uma espécie de conselho ou ter reuniões com o Alto Comissário, na medida em que ele entenda que é melhor.” (Padre Manuel Soares)

This ‘statist’ approach is shared by other associative leaders, as the president of the Casa do Brasil de Lisboa, and it is in tune with the conceptualisation of the capitalist state, inspired by Gramsci (1930-35), as the addition of government plus institutionalised civil society:

“El estado nacional tiene que servir a la nación, y el estado transnacional, que es la comunidad, tiene que servir a ese conjunto de naciones, por lo tanto, agradezco, pero lo veo como una obligación nacional del estado, como pagar las *reformas* [*pensiones*], la *reforma* no es ningún favor del estado ... el estado Comunidad Europea nos dio un apoyo hace tres cuatro años que nos permitió comprar este televisor, comprar el video, equipar con un apoyo para equipos materiales, entonces ese fue el unico apoyo que obtuvo la Casa do Brasil de la Comunidad Europea, del

estado portugues ya obtuvo algunos apoyos, para hacer tareas del estado. De hecho es el estado, es importante que sea así, para ejercer sus tareas tiene que buscar *partners* en la sociedad, entonces, en la cuestión de la legalización, en la cuestión de brasileiros en las elecciones, es tarea del estado en cuanto representacion institucional de una sociedad que la gente tenga su cartón de elector, por lo tanto nosotros como asociación ayudamos al estado a cumplir esta tarea.” (Carlos Viana)²³⁶

Carlos Viana goes further in his analysis of the relations between the State, government and society, and in his view the State, understood as government, should be an instrument of society (or the society organised), although he recognises that it does not happen because society is divided into classes:

“No hay que ver el estado como una entidad aparte de la sociedad, el modelo europeo occidental de Montesquieu, de los enciclopedistas, es un estado instrumento de la sociedad. Las cosas no son así, de hecho hay una sociedad de clases, de hecho este aparato estatal sirve intereses de clase, pero también tiene que ser instrumento de - y no poder sobre - la sociedad...Entonces, cuando asociaciones civiles, junto con el estado, hacen cosas comunes, estan haciendo lo que es saludable des del punto de vista de la sociedad, pero nos hemos acostumbrado a ver el estado como algo que está sobre nosotros y superior a nosotros ciudadanos, organizados en sociedades, en asociaciones, partidos politicos o clubs, el estado tiene que estar a nuestro servicio. Entonces una campaña electoral, una campaña de legalización extraordinária de inmigrantes o de divulgacion cultural,... el estado debe ser la sociedad organizada, ese es el modelo, que el modelo no funcione, funcione mal o funcione con perversidad es otro problema.” (Carlos Viana)

After the regularisation process ended in December 1996, the Portuguese government, via ACIME, thanked the social organisations that were involved in SCAL and gave 20 million escudos to it. That money was used to fund social projects presented by secular organisations and churches with a cost of up to 500,000 escudos. Casa do Brasil received a grant to carry out a project called Brasil Net: inspired by an experience of Brazilians in Canada, it is a solidarity network to help fellow countrymen and women to get a job or a scholarship, to set up small businesses, etc., that is, a kind of opportunities network. Until the moment of launching Brasil Net, the help provided by the Casa do Brasil de Lisboa to Brazilians in order to earn a living was just in concrete cases and in an informal way (for example, employers called them asking for Brazilians to sell products because they are believed to be nicer than Portuguese people). Other organisations that have received economic support from SCAL include OCM and the Muslim community.

SCAL has seen a change in governmental policies on immigration issues since the PS has been in power, although it is really critical of the European pressures to have more

²³⁶ The two first interviews (in 1997) with Carlos Viana were conducted in Spanish (he spent some years in Argentina), but the third one (in 1998) was conducted in Portuguese.

control over immigrants. According to a quite general view among the associations interviewed, there are more comments on the European Union repressive policies than on the social funding provided by this institution. Furthermore, SCAL is not recognised as institution by the European Union, and therefore some projects submitted to the DG-V have been rejected (an information guide for immigrants, for example).

If the focus is again on the Brazilian House, apart from participating in the SCAL they are members of the Plataforma Autárquica created in early 1997 to allow lusophone immigrants to have a say in the local elections held in December 1997 (in Lisbon one councillor of this platform was elected). However, after the elections the platform was dissolved. In the Casa do Brasil it is believed that to have a federation or a permanent platform is necessary to create stronger associations:

“Para pressionar têm que haver associações fortes, se houver associações fortes... pode haver algum tipo de coordenação ou federação como há em outros países, mas isso só tem sentido se a base é forte,... a única plataforma permanente conjunta dos imigrantes, mas que transcende os imigrantes porque os imigrantes formam parte da sociedade portuguesa, é o SCAL.” (Carlos Viana)

Other involvement of the Brazilian House in plural collective organisations and events includes participation in a Council of Citizens of the Brazilian Foreign Office, and in ‘Corrida contra o racismo’ (‘Run against racism’) organised by Interjovem, a CGTP body dealing with youth issues. Relations with political parties have increased since they have the right to vote, although previously there were also good relations with members of the PS who are now MPs, such as Celeste Correia, or have higher posts in the government, such as José Leitão. There were also close relations with PSR (a small left-wing party) and PCP. Relations with PSD were limited to a couple of MPs who have good relations with Brazil.

At an international level, a key activity for Casa do Brasil de Lisboa was the co-organisation of a symposium on the situation of Brazilian communities abroad together with the Brazilian government and a university (UNICAMP). It was considered a success, and had the participation of Brazilian associations based in Japan, Canada, the United States, Switzerland and elsewhere, but the coordination has been just among

the three main parties involved in the organisation and since then there has been little regular contact aimed at coordination among Brazilians abroad. At the communications level, they had their own bulletin called *Sabiá* for some years, but it stopped being published in late 1998. Their relation with the media is mainly with *EuroBrasil News*, and with RDP-África (the latter is very sensitive on lusophone issues).

The same year that Casa do Brasil was created, another immigrants' association appeared in Lisbon: the Associação de Solidariedade Angolana (ASA). It was created in 1992 by a handful of Angolan immigrants and students resident in Portugal in order to support Angolan children in need living in Lisbon metropolitan area. It happened in a context where the Angolan government was not concerned about emigrants abroad, and when Angolan associations that already existed in Lisbon were considered elitist:

“[temos] o objectivo de ajudar todas as crianças e todos os angolanos que residem em portugal e precisam de ajuda e de apoio. Como não havia praticamente associações com trabalho válido a nível de angolanos, então um grupo de angolanos residentes em portugal e estudantes bolseiros juntaram-se e criou-se a associação para poder trabalhar e mostrar que os angolanos também existem. Porque o povo angolano nunca foi um povo emigrante, só foi emigrante agora, depois da guerra, que a gente teve a necessidade de sair do país, tanto que a comunidade angolana residente em portugal não tem estatuto de imigrante, não há acordos entre o governo português e o governo de Angola neste sentido ... Começámos a ter conhecimentos depois que já havia outras associações, depois que nós aparecemos havia outras associações mas que não trabalhavam com os angolanos que moravam nos bairros degradados, eram associações restritas, como é que hei-de dizer?, elitistas.” (Josefina Belo)

They participated in the regularisation process providing information to Angolan immigrants, but their main work is in helping children living in a precarious situation mainly in the shanty-towns of Lisbon metropolitan area (but also in Braga, Coimbra, and the Algarve). ASA is a small association of volunteers, without headquarters, and without economic support from city councils or the central government, although they acknowledge that they have never applied for public funding. The reason why ASA has not sought government help is because they only have 25 members and they are waiting to become larger before applying. Most of the members are young people and women, although there are also members up to 60 years old. In 1998 they were trying to create an NGO in order to support street children (*meninos e meninas da rua*) in Angola. According to Josefina Belo, ASA work with Angolan immigrants is very limited owing to the lack of agreements between the Angolan and Portuguese

governments on immigrants in the latter country (their legal status is much more precarious than Capeverdean immigrants).

On the other hand, Casa de Moçambique, although created in the late 1980s, was re-created during the late 1990s after being 'frozen' for almost four years owing to lack of time for the foundation members and internal struggles over the association statutes. During its first period of activities their main aim was to help Mozambiquean people in Portugal and to spread Mozambiquean culture:

"Estou a tentar dinamizar a casa de Moçambique, porque ela foi fundada há mais ou menos dez anos, mas esteve inactiva até agora porque as pessoas que fundaram a Casa são pessoas que trabalham, são pessoas que residem em Moçambique, há alguns portugueses que residem em Moçambique, e outros Moçambicanos mesmo que vivem cá, mas que são pessoas extremamente ocupadas e então acabaram por se desligar, são todos sócios, mas acabaram por se desligar um bocado da Casa de Moçambique. E a Casa de Moçambique quando foi fundada, no início, teve como objectivo ajudar as pessoas moçambicanas que estiveram cá em dificuldades, tentou-se criar uma quota dos sócios todos para ver se com esse dinheiro se tentava ajudar as pessoas que estavam em dificuldades, e organizar exposições, dar a conhecer por exemplo a cultura de Moçambique. Organizou-se alguns concertos, organizou-se palestras, colóquios com pessoas moçambicanas cá, e não só, com pessoas portuguesas, com assuntos de interesse sobre Moçambique e África em geral, assuntos como a imigração, tudo o que for assuntos de África e de Moçambique,... entre tanto houve uma paragem, porque houve alguns problemas nos estatutos, e então ficou-se algum tempo sem poder realizar eleições." (Neila A. Karimo)

However, in 1997 a group of young Mozambiquean people decided to work for the re-creation of Casa de Moçambique on the basis of new projects, such as the training of Mozambiquean immigrants seeking their first job. In order to do so they applied for funding to the *Integrate* programme of the European Union. Another project they had in mind was the organisation of Mozambiquean dance lessons. They had already started the new age of the association with a press conference on the future of Mozambique after some years of peace, they were campaigning to raise money for blind people in Mozambique, and they contacted the International Organisation of Migrations which gives support to immigrants who want to return to their countries of origin.

The current membership of the association is around 150 people, most of whom are 'immigrants' who have been living for several years in Portugal, who mainly work as professionals, and who mainly possess Portuguese nationality (there are just a few Mozambiquean workers in the construction sector who are members, but the previous 'class' bias of the first years of the House is fading away). Among the membership, it is

possible to stress the active involvement of the president, a lawyer and six young volunteers (until 1997 there was a salaried secretary, but she returned to Mozambique). Members are as diverse as Mozambiquean society: according to her there are 'black', 'Indian', '*mestiços*', 'whites', and also a range of different religions - 'Christians', 'Muslims', 'Hindus' and others. Most of them live in the Lisbon metropolitan area. The young volunteers are mainly students who also belong to the Mozambiquean students' society²³⁷ (some of them also work part-time) and the lack of time available is seen as a problem that implies less commitment to the Casa de Moçambique. Thus Neila A. Karimo believes that funding of salaried people is needed in order to organise more activities:

"Acaba-se por deixar um bocado ao abandono porque as pessoas não têm tempo. O problema é que a Casa de Moçambique não tem fundo para pagar as pessoas, não tem fundos, porque se houvesse dinheiro nós conseguíamos. Nós agora estamos a tentar reactivar isto a ver se criamos dinheiro, se fazemos rifas, se fazemos qualquer coisa para arranjar dinheiro, a partir do momento em que começamos a ter fundos próprios, sem precisar de ajudas e pode ter pessoas a trabalhar fixas, e então as pessoas não tem desculpa porque é um trabalho fixo, mas como nós estamos no regime de voluntariado é difícil obrigar as pessoas a ir lá, porque estão como voluntários, não recebem nada por ir, e então é um bocado difícil convencer as pessoas a ir lá quando elas não recebem."

This problem is that they have not received subsidies from public authorities because Casa de Moçambique has been 'frozen' for four years, and before applying they have to show governments that they work properly. However, their headquarter was offered by the Câmara Municipal de Lisboa, it was rented to them for peppercorn rent of 4,000 escudos per month. The importance of having a meeting *place* is underlined by Neila A. Karimo:

"Nem que seja só para conviver, basta que as pessoas tenham um sítio onde as pessoas convivem, por exemplo a Associação Caboverdiana tem um espaço que eles vão lá, *tasse* a servir comida caboveridana e *tasse* a ouvir música caboverdiana, e isso é importante, as pessoas vão lá, encontram amigos do sítio onde nasceram, convivem, pronto, as pessoas sentirem-se mínimamente acompanhadas."

²³⁷ The Associação de Estudantes de Moçambique has a meeting point in the embassy, although they also used university facilities such as Ágora, located by the Tagus river. They have organised together with the Banco Alimentar de Luta contra a Fome a delivery of food to students who did not receive their grants. On the other hand, they have also organised excursions around Portugal, and a conference with Mia Couto (the most famous Mozambiquean writer). They have also participated in the Mozambiquean stall of the *Avante!* festival which is every year organised by PCP in Seixal.

They obtained support from the most famous Mozambiquean painter, Malangatana, who offered them some pictures to be sold in order to raise money. Also the famous footballer Eusébio is a member of Casa de Moçambique.

The Mozambiquean House has relations with a cultural association based in Santo António dos Cavaleiros (Loures) called Flôr de Mozambique, with UCCLA, Associação Caboverdiana, the Timorese association, Associação de Apoio à Mulher Angolana, SOS Racismo, Frente Anti-Racista, Lisbon's Mosque, and RDP África (this public radio station has become the most popular among the African community in Lisbon and it helps to keep African people in touch). However, there were no regular links with trade unions, nor with Olho Vivo, nor with the Obra Católica das Migrações.

8.2.6. Anti-racist NGOs in Lisbon.

As was mentioned earlier, SOS Racismo has become a referent for a number of immigrant associations in Portugal since its creation in Portugal in 1990. It was created by a small group of people as a response to the killing of an anti-racist and left-wing activist by the extreme-right in Lisbon. At the beginning SOS Racismo activities were just focused on Lisbon, but since 1992 other local groups were created around the country (in Oporto, Évora, Aveiro and elsewhere), and currently there are eight groups, although there is just one permanent headquarters in Lisbon, the rest of groups just have a postal address. During the early years the headquarters was a room in a flat shared with other associations, but later they asked Câmara Municipal de Lisboa to obtain a public place. However, the one that was provided to them for 5,000 escudos per month was in a delapidated state and as a consequence, while my main fieldwork was taking place, they had to move to another rented flat even though the cost was more expensive. The fact is that in a small room there were around 10 people working on a daily basis, plus other spontaneous collaborations.

The evolution of the association has been strongly influenced by the social problems that were appearing in Portugal, although they have also taken the initiative with campaigns to prevent racism (by, for example, running training courses, workshops at schools and issuing information for public authorities). The main objective of SOS

Racismo is to fight against racism and xenophobia, and what may change is the way this is done. They work on the cases that appear in newspapers or other media, and on the information provided by people who contact them. They then try to lobby the local and central government bodies to improve the situation. Among the new activities they have launched since the mid 1990s are publication of legislation on foreigners, help to victims of racial discrimination, and legal advice to foreign immigrants. For the future they are preparing a project for immigrant women.

The provision of legal advice was made possible because of the arrival to the association of new members who were lawyers and law students. After a period of time working as volunteers, they applied for funding to the European Social Fund in order to implement a project in that area which was finally granted. Among the membership there are five persons who are salaried workers in temporary positions thanks to projects like that (all funded by the European Social Fund), plus another person who is a teacher funded by the Education Ministry to work with SOS Racismo in schools in an educational project called 'Escola de todas as cores' (School of all colours). The public funding they have applied for has been to European Union bodies only because they think that it is fundamental to preserve their independence from the Portuguese government:

"Tem sido sempre a UE e não pedimos ao governo por esta razão: porque nós achamos que para uma associação anti-racista é fundamental ser independente. Se nós aceitamos subsídios do governo é evidente que numa situação qualquer, eles nos pressionem para que a gente diga mais isto, mais aquilo, ou não diga isto, ou não diga aquilo. Nós queremos dizer tudo o que nós queremos dizer e o que achamos que é justo ou injusto e por isso é que preferimos ser independentes do governo." (Manuela Oliveira)

However, their position does not exclude timely collaborations with local governments or the Higher Commissioner for Immigrants and Ethnic Minorities in case of conflicts in concrete areas:

"Nós contactamos às vezes as câmaras, aliás, assim periodicamente nós contactamos as câmaras para trabalhar em conjunto nelas, e por exemplo, quando há problemas sociais específicos nós contactamos imediatamente as câmaras e disponibilizamos com elas. Isto acontece, eu dou-te um exemplo, na situação da integração de imigrantes ou a integração de ciganos, levanta muitos problemas, e por exemplo em Viseu, aqui há dois anos atrás, a câmara queria integrar as comunidades ciganas e havia muitos problemas com a população local e o SOS foi lá para trabalhar conjuntamente com eles no sentido da integração dessas minorias, e aqui em Lisboa isso acontece muito, portanto, nós achamos que esse trabalho com as câmaras é importante." (Manuela Oliveira)

The funding of the association is not just from public budgets, because they collect a significant amount of money from selling publications (books, pamphlets, magazines), T-shirts, badges etc. and, their income also includes money from an annual membership fee of 1,500 escudos for young people and students, and 3,000 escudos for adults (currently SOS Racismo membership is around 1,500 people, but active members are between 50-100 depending on the activities). Most of their members are students, workers or professionals between 18 and 36 years old with Capeverdean, Angolan, Brazilian or Portuguese backgrounds.

Although within SOS Racismo there is not a special section for young people (people of all ages participate together), this NGO belongs to the Conselho Nacional da Juventude and they develop several activities specially for young people, including participating in a Youth Week organised by the Câmara Municipal de Lisboa every Spring. Most of the discriminations reported in the 'Centro de Atendimento' of SOS Racismo take place at work, and because of this they have a close relation with trade unions. During the main fieldwork, as it has been already mentioned, major troubles were occurring in the public works for the Expo 98, where labour conditions were more than precarious:

“O nosso trabalho com respeito a isso é mais de denúncia, porque nós sabemos que se cometem muitas ilegalidades na Expo e nós procuramos denunciar isso, até porque esse trabalho é muito difícil de fazer, até por que necessitávamos a participação das pessoas que são vítimas dessa situação, mas como elas estão lá a trabalhar elas não querem dar o nome, não querem dar a cara, e por isso temos que fazer essencialmente o trabalho de denúncia.” (Manuela Oliveira)

Thus also during the fieldwork, at the end of winter 1998, a platform of associations opposed to the Expo 98 was created in Lisbon, mainly with the participation of SOS Racismo and a cultural association called Abril em Maio (the context for the organisation of such opposition to Expo 98 was an open hostility among most associations that believed that the profits for Portugal seemed to be more important than the problems it raised). The reasons for such an alternative position to mainstream celebrations were several, including, on the one hand, the cost of human lives (a significant number of foreign and Portuguese workers had died and an even larger number had been injured in the construction sites), and, on the other hand, the legitimisation of a false positive image of the Portuguese 'discoveries' in Africa, Asia

and America in relation to other European colonisations under the guise of an Exhibition on Oceans (that is the image mainly taught at school):

“Estamos a tentar criar uma plataforma de associações, serão várias associações que irão desenvolver algum trabalho conjunto relativamente à Expo, nós do SOS não participamos da Expo, nós fomos convidados a estar lá num dos pavilhões mas nós recusámos por várias razões. Queres que diga quais são? Uma delas é que por detrás do tema dos oceanos aquilo que se pretende comemorar na Expo é os 500 anos dos descobrimentos e nas nossas escolas, por tanto, a imagem que se dá dos descobrimentos é sempre uma imagem positiva, e de que a colonização dos portugueses foi uma colonização diferente da colonização dos outros povos: portanto os ingleses, os espanhóis, os holandeses, os franceses foram muito piores do que nós, isto é o que se aprende, o que se transmite nas escolas, e se transmite nos livros de história e tudo isto, e nós não concordamos com esta perspectiva, achamos que esta era uma perspectiva falsa, não corresponde à realidade, e se por um lado os descobrimentos têm um aspecto positivo - porque houve um aprofundamento de conhecimentos, houve um desenvolvimento de pensamento, houve evolução da sociedade e tudo isso - nós não podemos esconder nem omitir todas as coisas negativas, todos os massacres, todas as violações de direitos humanos que se fizeram ao longo da história e como a Expo não está lá para mostrar essa realidade, nós não concordamos e não estamos lá. Por outro lado, toda a exploração de mão-de-obra, e depois o facto das pessoas não terem segurança no trabalho, haver acidentes em que as pessoas vão para o hospital ou até morrem, e ninguém quer mostrar esse aspecto da Expo, e ali há muita exploração dos imigrantes, é evidente que não é só dos imigrantes, é também de pessoas portuguesas, que trabalham em condições completamente deshumanas e sem segurança nenhuma, mas pronto naquilo que toca o nosso trabalho também há exploração dos imigrantes, por isso nós não estamos na Expo, estamos contra.” (Manuela Oliveira)

SOS Racismo has been characterised by having relations with almost all immigrant associations and having collaborations with most of them, although a more permanent collaboration was seen necessary when the interviews were done (as indicated below, a more permanent collaboration became a reality a few months later). Relations with Obra Católica das Migrações existed, although there was no collaboration in activities, and with other similar NGOs such as Olho Vivo relations were also frequent and fluent, but with Frente Anti-Racista (FAR) relations were a bit colder: FAR was born as a split in SOS Racismo in 1993, due to several power struggles between different political factions, whose main tension was the struggle between PCP and PSR supporters²³⁸. After a period of internal crisis, finally the Communist party faction and other people left the organisation and created FAR, while PSR supporters and other diverse members remained in SOS Racismo. Party politics also affected Olho Vivo, an

²³⁸ However, there are claims that there were not just based on political party differences, but also in ‘class’ terms: “havia divisões no sentido das classes sociais das pessoas dentro do SOS, havia gente da área intelectual e a gente menos intelectual, havia também um pouco esta divisão, não era só do ponto de vista ideológico, mas das classes sociais que pertencem na sociedade, havia também estas pequenas nuances, mas o controle dos partidos políticos para dominar os movimentos é uma tendência do século” (Manuel Correia). It is common among PCP membership to be proud of their working-class roots (to be more concrete, of fordist industrial roots), while small parties as the PSR are less rooted among working-class groups and have more appeal to students and professionals.

NGO that for a long time had mainly members in UDP, but which later suffered some internal troubles due to a conflict between UDP members and other members (however, these troubles were apparently sorted out).

In relation to FAR, it has to be stressed that, although their amount of activities is by far smaller than SOS Racismo and Olho Vivo, they have privileged relations with CGTP trade unions (where the Communist party is also influential):

“Uma componente que nós decidimos é ter uma articulação com os sindicatos para de alguma [forma] ajudar a resolver os problemas de milhares de pessoas imigrantes que se encontram em Portugal e que por vezes têm alguma dificuldades para resolver os seus problemas a nível sindical, resolve-se ao nível desta instituição não governamental, sem fins lucrativos, que tem como única função ajudar directamente os visados, aqueles que tem um problema concreto.”
(Manuel Correia)

Their activities are also spread across the country, and they claim to have 14 local groups, most of them in Lisbon metropolitan area towns (Seixal, Almada, Setúbal, Moita, Montijo, Amadora, Vilafranca de Xira, etc.). This geographical concentration in the Lisbon area contrasts with a more widespread distribution of SOS Racismo in Portugal. Frente Anti-Racista claims to have 1,100 members, most of them Portuguese citizens, although they claim to have people with several African and European nationalities. All active members are volunteers, except one person who is a salaried part-time worker. Although they obtain some funding from the Câmara Municipal de Lisboa and the Câmara Municipal de Seixal, their headquarters is a room in the flat of the Conselho Português para a Paz e a Cooperação, in central Lisbon. The annual fee is 1,000 escudos per person.

The good relations of FAR with the main construction trade union made possible a joint action to spread information among the workers at the Expo site on 21st March 1996, but the outcome of such actions is modest, as both organisations feel too weak to make a difference and really improve immigrants' working conditions there (for immigrants self-organisation is almost impossible with working days of 14-18 hours and working weeks of seven days, and it is even more difficult to connect regularly with other people when they live in huts within the working site):

“A participação dos imigrantes como imigrantes não é muito fácil ... por várias razões: pela forma de actividade que desenvolvem, por exemplo, os que estão na construção da Expo

trabalham dias seguidos, 30 dias por mês, nem os Sábados ou Domingos param, se você vai no Domingo encontra-se com milhares de pessoas a trabalhar, portanto as pessoas têm dificuldades com a participação, e não fazem 8 horas de trabalho diário: fazem 14, 16, 18 horas de trabalho diário, alguns nem sequer saem do espaço da Expo, eles estão lá trabalhar e moram numas barracas ou casernas.” (Manuel Correia)

Manuel Correia is a FAR member and trade union leader who stresses that during recent years a significant number of people have been reported as killed during their working activities in the construction sector, and the number should be higher because those who died at the hospital after an ‘accident’ have not been included. In this criticism of the labour conditions at the Expo site seemed to be agreement between FAR and SOS Racismo, however, differences existed in their opinion on the Expo itself: if, on the one hand, SOS Racismo had a coherent critical position in relation to the Expo as a whole (as noted above), the Frente Anti-Racista (in a similar way to the PCP) combined a criticism of the Expo’s side-effects with a hope that positive effects would result from Expo for Portugal (this feeling was shared with the rest of parliamentary political parties). Thus FAR did not participate in any platform against Expo 98. At the institutional level, FAR has been involved, as many other organisations, in the electoral census for immigrants, in the European Year against Racism, and in SCAL.

After the main fieldwork research, an Anti-racist network was created in 1998 under the name of Rede Anti-Racista with support from the European Union, which integrates most organisations related to immigrants and ethnic minorities based in Portugal (including SOS Racismo, FAR, and Olho Vivo). In June 1999 they organised a demonstration campaigning for documents for all foreigners, and a few weeks later, in early July 1999, they organised a festival for diversity. Such unity of action is coincident with the recent electoral alliance of three small left-wing parties: PSR (mainly shaped by professionals and skilled workers), UDP (a more working-class oriented party), and Política XXI (a group of ‘intellectuals’) under the name of Bloco de Esquerda (although negotiations took place with PCP, it finally decided to remain outside the alliance).

As a conclusion, it has to be emphasised that even if there is an increase in NGO membership and a decrease in the participation of political parties, it is not possible to

understand NGOs without taking into account party politics. Firstly, most NGOs have among their membership political party members and sometimes the executive committee is influenced by a concrete political line. Secondly, political parties use NGOs sometimes as battle-grounds for their own struggles, a problem that may affect the work of the NGO. Thirdly, some NGOs' members also may feel the need to be closer to a political party in order to have information on the wider civil society and government issues, and to join efforts over common problems. Fourthly, an NGO may be mostly composed by non-political party members, but where there is internal conflict among political parties they may be affected. Fifthly, it is also possible to find NGOs completely independent of any political party, but they may suffer approaches by political parties that may try to seduce them. Finally, political party strategies and tactics are diverse, those parties in government or with strong financial support may try to 'buy' NGOs, while grassroots political parties may try to convince them of the obvious need of a larger alliance to be more successful in their campaigns. In other words, it is not possible to conceptualise the supposed 'third sector' without taking into account the complexities of party politics, governments and capital. This does not mean that NGOs are not relevant on their own, but that it is not possible to understand their role analysing them in isolation, but in relation to other organisations.

8.2.7. Trade unions and 'foreign immigrants' in the late 1990s

The aforementioned process of 'de-politisation' of society is reaching all corners, even for those people who participate in trade unions. As a cleaning services trade unionist (CGTP) notes, refugees and some other immigrants may be afraid of becoming trade union members if they are related to political parties, although if they are given further information they usually join trade unions:

"A maior parte estão sindicalizados, a maior parte dos trabalhadores da limpeza porque é um sindicato com muita força a nível nacional, muita força mesmo, e a maior parte deles estão quase sempre sindicalizados ... entre os imigrantes também, no meu sector, pelo menos no meu sector, pronto, às vezes temos um bocadinho de dificuldade, por que já sabes, eles vêem o sindicato como

uma política e a maior parte dos imigrantes - nós chamamos imigrantes, mas alguns são refugiados de guerra -, a maior parte vê o sindicato como a política e alguns têm medo, então a gente têm de mostrar que o sindicato não é uma política, é um meio de reivindicar os nossos direitos como trabalhadores, os direitos de igualdade no trabalho, de igualdade no salário, de igualdade no tratamento.” (Nelia Johnston)

However, there are some foreign workers who already have previous trade union experience and, once in the new country, as soon as they have the chance, they join a trade union, as was the case of a Romanian immigrant who works in the construction sector:

“Também no meu país, quando trabalhei no meu país foi líder do sindicato, então o pensamento meu foi um trabalhador precisa de se inscrever num sindicato, porque todos os sindicatos de trabalhadores em qualquer país do mundo só podem ajudar aquelas pessoas, aqueles trabalhadores. Podem ajudar, dar opinião, depois os problemas de saúde, problemas de tudo.” (Nolo Ionescu)

CGTP’s affiliated trade unions have hegemony in the construction sector and in the cleaning services sector, the two main economic activities where immigrants from impoverished countries work in Portugal. Although there was no official data provided, in the CGTP-affiliated Sindicato de Trabalhadores de Actividades Diversas (STAD), where cleaning services activities are included, there is an immigrant as national leader (*dirigente nacional*) and another seven as regional leaders (*delegado sindical*).

A difference between CGTP and its Spanish counterpart CCOO is that if the latter created CITEs, the former does not have any special structure to deal with immigrants’ issues, they are incorporated in the trade union as with any other worker:

“No sindicato os imigrantes somos tratados como trabalhadores normais, aqui no sindicato o imigrante é um trabalhador como outro qualquer, e quando há qualquer problema de racismo no local de trabalho, nós tentamos agir da melhor maneira possível e pôr ao corrente à entidade patronal, pôr uma chamada de atenção. E se for possível e for um caso que seja preciso ir ao tribunal ou agir com outros meios, a gente corre com outros meios, porque nós não fizemos discriminação do trabalhador imigrante do trabalhador português, porque nós apenas sindicalizamos trabalhadores, não pomos na inscrição imigrante ou não imigrante, é apenas um trabalhador ... Tem funcionado, porque temos que ter um tratamento igual, simplesmente um tratamento igual como outro trabalhador, não vemos se é imigrante ou deixamos de ser imigrante, não pomos as coisas nesse prisma.” (Neila Johnston)

However, every three or four years the CGTP has organised special meetings on migration issues which as time has gone by were more focused on foreign immigrants and less focused on Portuguese emigrants, although they always try to bear in mind

both phenomena²³⁹. Furthermore, the CGTP has also taken action against employers' and managers' racism at the work place, and, on the other hand, CGTP has also been active during the legalisation process providing legal advice to foreign workers. In fact, they are active members of SCAL, together with immigrants' associations, NGOs and UGT.

According to Nelia Johnston, racism is a problem when they deal with employers:

“Não têm um tratamento adequado para o imigrante, porque em geral nós temos tido problemas de racismo dentro do nosso sector de trabalho. Tenho um encarregado que disse: ‘eu não gosto de pretos, eu não sou obrigado a gostar dos pretos’. Eu tive ainda há pouco tempo um problema com o mesmo por ser delegada sindical, ele disse: ‘olha, eu por mim tu já estavas na tua terra’, e eu disse: ‘olha, já tive 500 anos de colonização e 500 anos de colonização tentei respeitar às pessoas, e eu vim para cá para sobreviver, se você acha que eu não devo estar aqui, aqui há muitos milhares de Angolanos, você vai ter que fazer uma carta ao seu governo para pôr todos os angolanos fora de aqui’. ... E ele atíça os outros chefes contra as trabalhadoras e não tem um tratamento igual para as trabalhadoras negras como tem para as trabalhadoras portuguesas. E nós estamos a agir bastante, nós mandamos um aos patrões, já fizemos uma chamada de atenção às entidades patronais.” (Nelia Johnston)

All across Europe it is common to find that one of the usual jobs for immigrant women is domestic service. Although in Portugal there are no quotas (*cupos*) of foreign workers organised by government, as happens in Spain, African immigrant women mainly work also in domestic, cleaning or catering services. Organising domestic workers in trade unions is not an easy task, but CGTP has been doing so with relative success if affiliation is conducted in neighbourhoods (the workplace is obviously not possible), following William Bunge (1979) suggestion of organising the working class also in the places of residence:

“Domésticas também temos sindicalizadas, bastantes temos sindicalizadas ... nas domésticas é elas próprias é que se vêm a sindicalizar-se, é mais difícil porque é casas particulares. O sindicato não pode entrar em casas particulares para sindicalizar à trabalhadora e as trabalhadoras domésticas elas próprias é que, pronto, quando têm algum problema vêm a sindicalizar, ou nós, por exemplo, eu sou dirigente, conheço as pessoas no bairro e falo com as pessoas, e digo que para estar mais seguras no trabalho que precisam sindicalizar, então é assim que elas pedem e vão sindicalizar.” (Nelia Johnston)

This equal treatment among unionised workers means that, in meetings and assemblies, specific problems just related to ‘foreign immigrants’ due to governmental laws are explained and discussed when all workers attend the meeting (not only when ‘foreign

²³⁹ I attended the most recent meeting, in February 1998. It was possible to notice that the attendants were mostly *dirigentes* and *delegados*, there was a lack of grassroots trade union membership.

immigrants' turn up), because it is important that also Portuguese workers know what the government or employers are doing to their 'foreign' work-mates:

“Nós queremos combater essa discriminação, nós temos quando informar o imigrante informar também o trabalhador português porque se nós fazemos separação nós estamos a fazer discriminação dentro do sindicato, por isso temos que informar todos em conjunto. E nós quando fazemos plenários, nós temos todos os trabalhadores e falamos com os trabalhadores em geral. E quando temos algum problema de racismo de imigrantes a gente fala os trabalhadores todos, pois os portugueses têm de ouvir o que está a passar, e todos estão a ouvir e todos estão ali. Porque se houver algum português que ache mal, tem que dar a sua palavra, dizer que não gosta, pronto, cada um é feito da sua maneira, não somos todos iguais, e cada um tem que dar a sua opinião, eu acho que temos que trabalhar todos em conjunto, e quando fizermos estes trabalhos temos que fazer também em conjunto.” (Nelia Johnston)

However, this trade union's leader considers that economic sector trade unions (and not just at CGTP level) should have closer relations with neighbourhood associations where working-class immigrants live:

“Nós devíamos ter mais cooperação com essas associações, pronto, fazer alguma reunião com essas associações, para melhorar, porque há coisas que a gente não sabe, há associações que a gente não conhece e essas associações em geral é que vivem... lá no sítio, nos ghettos, e a gente não sabe o ambiente urbano em que eles vivem fora do ambiente de trabalho, era bom que nós também tivéssemos um bocadinho de conhecimento, não é? porque essas associações em geral são feitas por comissões de bairro, e sabem mais do seu. Por que nós não devíamos só saber no sindicato a nível sindical, só a nível de trabalho, devíamos saber mais sobre os problemas dos imigrantes nos ghettos, integrar-nos mais nessas associações.” (Nelia Johnston)

In Portugal trade unions do not receive public funding *per se*, unless they apply for a specific project (like training courses funded by the European Social Fund). This situation contrasts with Spain, where apart from the ESF money, trade unions receive permanent funding from the government. Thus, in Portugal, trade union budgets depend on workers' monthly fees (the minimum is 700 escudos per month), which is not much but enough to cover the headquarters rent and some salaries.

Relationships between CGTP trade unions and UGT trade unions in sectors where labour conditions are precarious and industrial action is relatively common are bad. UGT usually reaches agreements with employers for a few improvements or, after implementation, for nothing (as in the Expo 98 agreement in the construction sector). To this situation, attempts to break CGTP hegemony are added:

“Eu pessoalmente não gosto ter relação com outro sindicato, por exemplo a UGT, porque tentaram dentro do meu sector de trabalho querer desestabilizar as trabalhadoras e querer, pronto, entrar dentro do nosso nível de trabalho e houve uma destabilização das trabalhadoras que era uma coisa bruta ... prometer mundos e fundos, prometer que tinham [coisas] de graça, e estavam

a tentar desestabilizar o sector, e graças a deus eu consegui manter, falar com as trabalhadoras, e a minha sorte é que a maior parte dessas trabalhadoras aceitam muito a minha palavra e consegui mantê-las no sindicato [da CGTP.] ... [A UGT] puxa mais a brasa para a sardinha da entidade patronal.” (Nelia Johnston)

In fact, UGT trade unions have far fewer members than CGTP trade unions in those sectors where immigrants’ presence is more significant. Although political differences in a number of issues between CGTP and UGT exist, in immigration issues they usually have a similar point of view:

“Há alguns desacordos, acho que tem que ver com a história e com as relações políticas, mas nesta matéria normalmente as duas centrais estão de acordo nesta questão da imigração, normalmente não há grandes diferenças de opinião relativamente aos problemas de imigração.” (Arnaldo Andrade)

However there have been no joint actions, they have just shared the same table in some meetings. Furthermore, in the organisational way there are significant differences. UGT created in 1996, before the second regularisation process, a small special office to deal with immigration issues within its Lisbon headquarters, and appointed Arnaldo Andrade, a graduate leader of the Associação Caboverdiana as technical adviser. He had met Júlio Fernandes, a UGT *dirigente* of the social action department, in SCAL meetings, and it was the latter who offered Arnaldo Andrade a post in UGT. The first task they had in the Gabinete de Imigração was to prepare how to manage the 1996 immigrants’ documentation process:

“Quando nós entrámos havia uma tarefa fundamental que era a questão da legalização extraordinária. E de facto nós montámos aqui rapidamente numa semana um gabinete e este gabinete fez um trabalho de intervenção e de pressão política para que a lei a aprovar no parlamento fosse uma lei aceitável. Segundo, uma campanha de informação junto das principais comunidades de imigrantes, mesmo na periferia da cidade, nas zonas de residência, margem norte e margem sul do Tejo, e depois fizemos a preparação dos jovens, jovens das localidades com informação sobre o processo, porque o processo era relativamente complexo, sobretudo se a pessoas tinham situações atípicas, podiam fazer o processo muito complexo. Então fizemos uma espécie de antenas, formando jovens que moram nos bairros de residência e que tinham um contacto fácil com os que lá vivem. Depois aqui mesmo no gabinete recebemos gente, organizámos processos, desbloqueámos situações, fizemos pressão durante seis meses.” (Arnaldo Andrade)

During that period there were three salaried employees working in UGT’s immigration department (Andrade, Fernandes and an administrative secretary), and several young people working during weekends. In fact, the creation of the immigration office itself and the participation of those young people was possible thanks to a European Social Fund project which included a course designed to train youngsters in pre-professional

issues like self-awareness, self-knowledge and self-esteem. Thus, apart from training in computer use, job seeking skills, communication techniques, etc., that course included some practical work in neighbourhoods spreading information on the immigrants' regularisation process (transport expenses were paid to them). According to Arnaldo Andrade, the creation of the immigration department made a difference:

“Representa um avanço por três aspectos acho eu: um, passou a haver por parte de esta central sindical que tem acento em termos da organização do estado, tem acento no conselho de concertação social juntamente com o governo, posições estruturadas relativamente à legislação sobre imigrantes, sobre trabalho de estrangeiros, sobre as novas leis de imigração, sobre as restrições ao acesso à profissão, sobre a problemática da formação profissional para imigrantes, todas essas questões, têm sido abordadas, são objecto dum acordo de concertação social estratégica entre esta central e o governo, e ao abrigo deste acordo que foi assinado em 1996, há menos de dois anos, é possível exigir ao governo o cumprimento de determinados compromissos em matéria de imigração, estão escritos e estão assinados. Por tanto é possível, temos continuado a fazer este trabalho, cada vez que o governo tem legislação sobre imigrantes, a gente disse, tem compromissos, é preciso ter em conta os compromissos que estão assinados, e este aspecto é novo e é diferente.

O segundo aspecto é o próprio gabinete, a informação, sobretudo a informação, a maior parte dos imigrantes não conhece a legislação, não conhece as leis, não sabe muitas vezes onde resolver este ou aquele problema, como resolver este ou aquele problema e então vê que aqui há um atendimento e a gente explica qual é o problema e a gente tenta encontrar a forma de resolver ...

Um terceiro aspecto importantíssimo é o trabalho feito junto dos sindicatos, isto aqui a UGT é uma central sindical que tem vários sindicatos, tem federações sindicais várias, e portanto este trabalho é feito em relação a cada sindicato relativamente à problemática da imigração e da luta contra o racismo nos locais de trabalho.”

However, it is difficult to assess their success in each of these three areas of work. UGT's Immigration Office just has a room in UGT's Lisbon headquarters and they do not have any publications on immigration issues. Their collaboration is mainly with Capeverdean, Angolan, and Timorese associations, but the number of people permanently involved in the office is very small (just three). Thus the impact of CGTP trade union activities on improving foreign workers' conditions at the workplace is far greater than UGT ones, even if CGTP has no special office for immigrants. This may raise a question: it is really a solution to create a special office for immigrants within a trade union confederation? A reasonable answer is that it depends on whether resources and support are adequate. CGTP experience demonstrates that it is more important to involve the trade union confederation as a whole in the resolution of immigrants' problems (along with the rest of the workers) rather than creating a special office. The foundation of such an office may be useful if it has strong links with trade unions and a significant number of people involved building bridges.

8.2.8 Sympathetic NGOs and the last generation of immigrants' groups in the 1990s: work in progress

In the mid 1990s a 'new wave' of immigration arrived in Portugal. Or to be more precise, immigrants from countries previously almost not included in Serviço de Estrangeiros e Fronteiras (SEF) statistics have migrated to Portugal, to stay. Even if Portuguese government policies and laws are not helpful for their 'settlement', the need of *fresh* labour for public works (previously, during and after Expo 98) have been reason enough to allow them to stay for some years. These people came to Portugal from Eastern Europe (Romania, Moldavia, Russia, etc.), the Indian subcontinent (Pakistan, India, Bangladesh), and Western Africa (Senegal, Mali, Morocco, etc.).

Associational life among them is just starting. Some Pakistani and Senegalese immigrants have been able to organise themselves thanks to the mosque, which is a meeting place and a source of help and advice. On the other hand, in the cases of 'communities' like Romanian people, but also Senegalese people, some members of Olho Vivo have been helping them to organise their fellow-country people. Olho Vivo is a secular NGO, based in Queluz (near Lisbon), with several kind of activities, including protection of historical heritage sites, environmental struggles, and defence of human rights. It was in its premises that a Senegalese man and a Romanian man restarted participating in social organisations. Both had previous experiences of participating in associations in their countries of origin and once they had the chance (enough leisure time available and enough knowledge of the Portuguese language) and they knew about Olho Vivo, they joined the organisation. That occurred in late 1997 and early 1998, and in a few months Olho Vivo membership grew because workers from Romania and Senegal started to join this NGO. However, they also realised the possibility of organising a Romanian association and a Senegalese association, as an addition to their participation in Olho Vivo. They were supported by Olho Vivo in this enterprise and started talking to people and contacting authorities in order to do so. When my main fieldwork was finishing (in May 1998) that process was still in its initial stages. When I went back to Portugal a year later the organisational process was more advanced and the involvement in Olho Vivo was even greater. One process was reinforcing the other.

A significant number of Romanian immigrants in Portugal are skilled workers and professionals (including doctors and university lecturers) who settled in Lisbon and found that the only kind of job available for them was in the construction sector. Most Romanian immigrants arrived in early and mid 1990s, but a few of them arrived in a complete different context in the early 1980s. Housing conditions were (and still are for some) miserable, living in a squatted old police station in ruins (in Poço do Bispo, by the Expo 98 building site) or even under a bridge. It was with the intervention of an Orthodox Christian priest and Olho Vivo members that their eviction was avoided, but alternative housing was not provided, in spite of the fact that they were all working for Expo 98 (public works were sub-contracted to private companies, but it was still a government enterprise):

“Muitos romenos moravam na altura num sítio, numa casa em Poço do Bispo,... uma casa do estado ... um sítio da GNR antigamente. [Também houve] muitos romenos que em 1993 dormitavam por baixo duma ponte em condições miseráveis. Acho que a Câmara com a intervenção dum padre, o padre Alexandro - pois os romenos andam aqui ilegais ou legais - teve uma entrevista com o responsável da Câmara Municipal.” (Nolo Ionescu)

In Olho Vivo the government attitude towards Romanian immigrants is seen as worse than the one to lusophone immigrants. Another dramatic issue was the education of the children of workers who applied for a residence permit in 1996 and they are still waiting for a response from SEF.

In order to create the association they contacted the Romanian embassy, but they preferred to have the support of Olho Vivo. Nolo Ionescu considered it important to have statutes and to adhere to the norms used in Portugal to create associations.

A Senegalese immigrant, Seck Mohammed, has been the bridge between Olho Vivo and Senegalese people in Portugal. Around 100 Senegalese immigrants joined this NGO after he became a member. Seck Mohammed's reasons for doing so are based on the struggle to make human rights respected everywhere, also for 'foreign immigrants':

“Eu conheço Olho Vivo há mais de um ano, porque eu sou humanista, eu quero sempre ajudar. Sou um homem que não quer injustiça em qualquer lado. Penso que aqui na Europa há uma política contra a imigração, uma política muito dura, e penso que é muito importante organizar acções internacionais ou nacionais para tentar defender os direitos humanos, porque as leis são muito restritivas, por exemplo as leis de Schengen, as leis de trabalho são diferentes das leis do trabalhador português ou espanhol,... Nós ali a nível de Olho Vivo lutamos sempre, porque a

Constituição Portuguesa, no seu artigo 13, estipula uma igualdade entre toda a gente e na prática há outra condição.” (Seck Mohammed)

Beyond the already existing Muslim Senegalese association linked to the mosque, Seck Mohammed wanted to create another secular Senegalese association (even if he is a Muslim). However, his priority was the work with Olho Vivo, a ‘universalist’ NGO:

“Há mais associações senegalesas religiosas, porque Senegal é um país muçulmano, a maioria. Mas eu penso que vamos fazer outra associação senegalesa aqui em Portugal, acho que é muito importante para nós ter uma associação. Mas eu [também] penso esta associação Olho Vivo é um ponto de encontro de toda a gente, de todas as nacionalidades, de todas as raças, eu sou universalista, sou senegalês, mas sou universalista, eu prefiro lutar para toda a gente, que seja fora o problema de religião, raça ou nacionalidade, ali temos muitas nacionalidades.” (Seck Mohammed)

Each 25th of April (the Carnations Revolution anniversary) there is a big demonstration in Lisbon with the participation of several thousands of peoples to celebrate the death of dictatorship. In 1998 a contingent of ‘foreign immigrants’, mainly from non-lusophone countries, joined the demonstration to stand up for their rights. This instance of taking the streets is not unique. In daily life, there are street meeting points for African and Asian communities in three squares: Rossio, Praça da Figueira and Praça Martim Moniz. It was not the aim of this thesis to explore such immigrants’ use of public places, however, it is interesting to note its existence to confirm the importance of meeting places for people, and that it is not necessary to have a flat in a building to meet on a regular basis. However, there may be a difference between just meeting on a regular basis and creating an organisation (although one thing may lead to the other, it is not always like that). And in order to make possible such an organisational shift, as I hope to show in this thesis, having access to a proper place (with sufficient resources) may be critical. Whilst it may be obvious that if attention is paid to the governmental policies in Lisbon and Barcelona on offering or facilitating proper meeting places to associations, reality is often different. There is a lack of proper places for associations, and some of those which are lucky enough to have access to one place have to pay the rent or to look for a better place. Those associations most likely to need to obtain a proper place are immigrants’ associations, because in general local NGOs and other organisations are more likely to receive public funding. Of course there are exceptions, in both kind of social organisations, but the issue remains relevant: organisational geography matters.

In these pages a study of the organisation of 'foreign immigrants' in Lisbon has been carried out from *below*. It has shown how distinct and similar processes have taken place in relation to Barcelona. In the last chapter some conclusions and questions are raised.

Conclusions

In this thesis a key question has been raised: how are capital, governments and social movements organised in the processes of integration and resistance that affect 'foreign immigrants' in Barcelona and Lisbon? However, taking 'foreign immigrants' as a starting point, wider issues have been approached, which may be useful for future researches in other areas of study beyond immigration topics. A diversity of authors have been analysed and some of their concepts have been re-elaborated in order to understand some current processes. The separation between economic, political and social processes has been challenged trying to take into account both their possible interactions and fusions along time and across space.

The creation of new social organisations related to 'foreign immigration', the re-orientation towards these 'social groups' of older social organisations and the development of governmental immigration policies are phenomena that have taken place both in Barcelona and Lisbon under the post-fordist capitalist re-structuring, influenced by neoliberal ideas. Among the outcomes of such re-structuring, the increase in fragmentation of the working class, and the reduction of the number, and often the quality because of cuts in funding, of government policies in what were called social services can be stressed. In Iberian countries a 'welfare state' like those in north-western European countries never existed. Today, although in the latter countries there have been significant reductions in welfare policies, these services are still more comprehensive than the social services available in Iberian countries have ever been. In this context, during the last decades the provision of most assistance has been allocated to a diversity of associations, trade unions and private companies.

Related to these processes a number of new social organisations have appeared, many of them under the label of NGOs. Although most of them have been recently created, there is a wide variety. Some of them, even within the current difficult context, try to maintain themselves as grassroots organisations and, sometimes, to suggest alternative

projects. But most large NGOs have opted to specialise in offering services and they have been (re)organised to become a sort of 'non-profit-making' companies, which have to attract income in order to pay salaries to staff and to generate more or less 'sophisticated' activities²⁴⁰. Furthermore, it is even possible to find paradoxes in cases of persons specially contracted to look for funding in order to keep some salaried workers in the association, who because they have more time available end up doing the bulk of the association's work. Most of these organisations benefited from 'volunteer' work done by people who wants to do something to improve the current social situation, and who do not find a better place to participate (large NGOs can be heard and contacted more easily than others less well established). In this way, it there a new 'division of labour' being designed in organisations that instead might be based on solidarity? The fact is that a significant number of the people who get involved in such organisations as 'volunteers', after some time (if they do not become members of the staff) they become frustrated of such a way of unequal participation, and then a real danger of thinking that 'all social organisations are the same ' may appear, in a historical moment when individualism is growing.

Some people become professionalised in the 'new field of solidarity', others pay money to make this possible, and a third group of people receive 'passively' the result of the work of the 'new professionals' and the economic expenditure of those who sponsor it. It is difficult to break the capitalist logic, often flexible enough to co-opt social movements that at the beginning wanted to confront the system. This does not mean that it is impossible, as the activities of some groups show that not everybody is fully integrated into the capitalist way of doing things.

Following this path, it is possible to add to Gramsci's conception of the state, understood as the addition of government plus civil society, a differentiation between 'systemic' civil society (i.e. institutionalised), and 'social' civil society. Associations or social organisations at a given moment and in a given place can perform in a systemic

²⁴⁰ In some of these cases a supposed 'solidarity' becomes a commodity, a product to clean consciences and that can be sold to anyone able to pay for it (big private companies, governments or the public in general, who can be a sponsor or can pay a fee as passive member). An instance is the new 'solidarity' credit card that a bank in Catalonia launched some time ago: the bank claims that 0.7% of the money spent with the card goes to some kinds of NGOs, converse and perverse ones (see below).

way, supporting the rule of capital or becoming safety-valve institutions, but they can also act in a social way, supporting the improvement of people's lives (for example, following subversive²⁴¹ and reversionary²⁴² processes).

In this thesis the increasing systemic rule has been analysed in Barcelona and Lisbon among 'foreign immigrants' associations and other organisations, where social life has been losing ground in social organisations in favour of systemic processes (e.g. increasing provision of services instead of mutual help among members). Associations may be used by governments to alleviate or control social problems without being directly involved. This might have the beneficial effect of diminishing bureaucracy, but it can also increase it because of a possible growth in the number of filters between citizens and decision-making governmental bodies. In order to understand the way the state is organised, it is necessary to bear in mind that for governments it is useful to have just a minority of the population involved in social organisations, and that if everybody was participating in these kind of organisations, the system would collapse. This is because governments work on the basis that the majority of the population is politically inactive during daily life, and that a number of organisations (and the government itself) may be useful in order to 'auscultate' society. Thus, under capitalism, governments benefited from people's participation in associations, but of a determined kind (perverse²⁴³ or converse²⁴⁴), in a determined way (as obedient volunteers or salaried), and, moreover, not in great numbers for a long period of time. Otherwise, governments can fear people may live in a self-managed way, without the need of government. Thus, for instance, consultative councils where associations may participate are created for a number of issues, but the final decision is kept in the hands of governments, unless other mechanisms of control are applied.

Some older social organisations, with a tradition of offering charitable assistance (Christian or not), have modernised their approach and in some cases have changed their terminology, calling 'solidarity' what previously was known as 'charity' (in which

²⁴¹ Subversive associations appear when the group protesting install an alternative legitimacy.

²⁴² Reversionary groups are found when principle declarations of the system are accepted, but only to make it evident that are not accomplished and to overcome such declarations with specific actions.

²⁴³ Perverse associations are those just protesting for a superficial change.

²⁴⁴ Converse associations are those that accept the system without protest.

a person or group from a position of economic, political or social superiority helps another one without questioning inequalities). Thus it seems that they are trying to associate themselves with the positive virtues of solidarity (understood as the mutual help of people that consider themselves as equals) and distance themselves from the negative connotations of charity. However, the fact that capitalism is creating extreme situations of poverty may make charity work necessary for the survival of thousands of people in Catalonia and Portugal, as a solution for some immediate problems.

It is an old and complex dilemma: if there are no charitable activities many people may die, if there are charitable activities inequality is legitimised²⁴⁵. There are, of course, ways of escaping this dilemma, and instances of real solidarity between people that consider themselves as similar or equals (or who struggle against inequality together), but it is a more difficult challenge than charity. Probably, in the current context where segmentation and fragmentation among people is fostered by systemic processes, the search for solidarity is one of the key issues in creating a plural collective actor able to co-ordinate the struggle of people who suffer a diversity of oppressions. Thus in post-fordist times, when systemic processes are boosted and social processes are weakened, mutual aid can be a way forward to improve peoples lives at a world level. From a geographical perspective, solidarity can be done locally, regionally, nationally, trans-nationally, continentally or globally (or at several scales at once), but unequal relations are a key issue to be addressed.

In relation to the social organisations composed by 'foreign immigrants' mainly from impoverished countries in Barcelona and Lisbon, there is a series of common and differences features - based on status, experience and nationality of members, dominant logic in the organisation (services vs. mutual help), importance of money and bureaucracy, women's involvement, and direct action - that is worthwhile to remember here:

- In Barcelona, during the fieldwork, only one of the 'foreign immigrant' associations noted (ATIME) in this thesis had a salaried member working for the association, the rest are run

²⁴⁵ As C. Nuñez noted, the key point is no longer to incorporate the poor into the system, overcoming 'marginisation', but to incorporate (ourselves) in the struggle to change the system (quoted in Villasante, 1995: 31).

by volunteers. This sharply contrasts with the situation of local NGOs or trade union branches related to immigrants which have several people employed as salaried workers (except in one case, the branch of GRAMC in Barcelona city). Alternatively, in Lisbon, among the main 'foreign immigrant' associations (Casa do Brasil, Associação Caboverdiana and Associação Guineense de Solidariedade Social, for example) it is more common to have a few salaried workers, in similar numbers to NGOs composed mainly of native people (in general between 1 and 5).

- Almost all 'foreign immigrant' associations were created in Barcelona and Lisbon on the basis of people who already had associative experience in trade unions, social movements or NGOs in their countries of origin, in Iberia or elsewhere.

- To talk of 'foreign immigrants' often justifies the quotation marks: firstly, because as time goes by more people involved obtain Spanish or Portuguese nationality; and secondly, because often there is also a significant number of native people who collaborate and participate in such associations.

- Most trade unions and 'native' NGOs, with a few exceptions, are involved in the logic of the 'services market', and protest is a secondary issue for most social organisations in Barcelona and Lisbon (radical alternatives to capitalism are not even on the agenda except in a few cases). In Barcelona, most 'foreign immigrant' associations are still not involved in the dynamic of offering services, because they have been refused public funding or because they opted to work on the basis of mutual help among members. In Lisbon, older 'foreign immigrant' associations with more institutional relations are more experienced in offering services than their Barcelona counterparts, however more recently created 'foreign immigrant' associations still do not offer services.

- In general services offered by 'native' NGOs and trade unions to immigrants are free, and money is received from governments or private sponsors but not from users. However, although it may be easier for a 'foreign immigrant' to deal with a young association member than with a civil servant from a public body, bureaucracy does not disappear, remaining one of the main lifeworld colonisations by the system. The anxiety that is having one's life dependent on a bureaucratic system that may leave people de-documented and without basic rights does not disappear, even if its face is more attractive and nicer.

- Among 'foreign immigrant' associations in Barcelona there are relatively strong women's groups. It can be as independent formal associations (such as Ewaiso Ipola), as autonomous groups within larger associations (like the women's group of CLACA) or as informal women's groups (Al-Wafa, for example). Furthermore, all these kinds of collectives are together in a women's section within the Federació de Collectius d'Immigrants de Catalunya (FCIC). However, in Lisbon there is just one 'foreign immigrant' women's association, Associação de Amigos da Mulher Angolana, and it is rare to find women's groups within the main associations (just in Moínho da Juventude). Although some interviewees explain this situation in terms of the novelty of transcontinental immigration in Portugal, this immigration started earlier than in Barcelona (with Capeverdians, for example). Thus it is possible to find more convincing reasons: Portugal is a more conservative society regarding family issues (namely it has a stronger influence from conservative Catholic church sections than Catalonia); Lisbon has a weaker women's movement than Barcelona (during 1998 mobilisations for abortion rights in Portugal only few people attended the demonstrations); in Lisbon there is a smaller number of professional immigrant women and political refugees from impoverished countries (in Barcelona there is a significant number of Latin American professional women, such as doctors, architects, lawyers and teachers, who often came as political refugees escaping from dictatorships).

- In Barcelona recently there have been small joint actions between a few more politically involved 'foreign immigrant' groups and local grassroots movements, like neighbours' and squatters' movements, against the foreigners' law and its consequences. Even if such movements did not have the importance that they had in Italy, where direct actions against special prisons for foreigners forced the Italian government to put an end to some of such places, relations between both kind of movements are more consistent than in Lisbon where the neighbours' and the squatters' movements are weaker. In relation to institutional participation, in both cities the involvement of a number of 'foreign immigrants' associations in a diversity of consultative councils is high, although their opinions on the usefulness of such governments bodies are diverse, ranging from full support to opposition.

Both in Barcelona and Lisbon, trade unions and the Catholic church can be identified among social organisations which are more influential in immigration issues. Thus

recent transformations in mainstream trade unions are relevant also in order to understand their relations with 'foreign immigration'. In other times, trade unions were mainly dedicated to subversive protest or reversive strategies (in north western Europe those times are longer than in Iberia, where they played a significant role in the anti-dictatorship struggle). However, recently they act usually as perverse organisations or converse organisations²⁴⁶. In this sense, mainstream trade unions and many NGOs are offering the 'services' that governments subsidise, but not those that social organisations, after a critical analysis of social reality, consider as a priority. Thus, a few questions may be raised: who do services really serve? - those who are paying the costs?, those who design the services? or the users of the services?. One of the criticisms of some 'foreign immigrant' associations is that they cannot participate in the design and management of the 'services' dedicated to the 'communities' where they are based (see sections 7.2 and 8.2). Are these services really useful for 'users'?

However, there are differences between Lisbon and Barcelona. In Lisbon the main trade union confederation (CGTP) is more class protest-oriented than its Catalan counterpart, Comissions Obreres (CCOO), which is more service-oriented (UGT is specially service-oriented in both places). In any case, the general trend towards a major 'servilism' can be seen in both cities (although with variations according to the economic activity branch or the locality). The side-effects of this process can be explained in the following way: if protests are abandoned, a means of social integration among persons that carry out an activity together is lost. If provision of services is hegemonic activity, a systemic way is followed because services create a bureaucratic dynamic that separates those people that 'offer' an activity to the 'users', creating a hierarchy and making solidarity between equals difficult, and raising problems for comradeship or fellowship among people linked to the same social organisation. In this sense, the development of training and individual and collective skills is not promoted, but the training offered by these social organisations is oriented towards a quick insertion in the labour market, in those sectors that are profitable for capital and governments (currently, in the case of 'foreign immigrants' in Spain this is domestic service, agriculture, construction and catering; and in Portugal it is mainly construction

²⁴⁶ Today some trade union branches still act in a reversive or subversive way, but they are not hegemonic among the labour movement.

and cleaning services). The changing form of these systemic processes that affect social organisations is related to the significant transformations in the capitalist system which have occurred in the transition from Fordism to post-Fordism under neoliberal ideas.

Capital's representatives such as employers' organisations sometimes force governments to orientate their policies towards a line of action more convenient for their interests. As it has been shown in Section 7.1, in the case of the Spanish foreign immigration policy, Fomento del Trabajo Nacional (FTN), via CEOE, became a powerful systemic actor in order to set up the agenda on 'foreign immigration' in the mid 1980s. This was especially true for the policy of quotas (*cupos*) for foreign workers and expulsions. In this thesis, when analysing capitalist collective actors, I have focused my work on employers' organisations, companies organisations and foreigners' clubs linked to the top hierarchy of the business world. Employers and top managers in transnational companies may also be 'foreign immigrants' who need 'socialisation'. However, when they meet in business clubs - like the American club or the Brazilian businesspeople's club in Lisbon - the reason why they meet is more systemic than social. Even if they apparently 'socialise' among themselves, it is more likely that they are performing joint-stock individualism or co-operative egotism than socialisation. They are interested in making more profit for 'their' companies, and participation in such clubs is a way to glean information useful to make more money. The Rotary club and other world-wide clubs may be useful for wealthy immigrants, but participating in more specialised clubs or societies like the American and Brazilian businesspeople's clubs in Lisbon or Sociedad Hispano-Suiza in Barcelona generates more knowledge of how local-national businesses and governments work. However, the range of systemic-oriented organisations is wider. In future research projects, it may be interesting to study other kinds of capitalist organisations and their involvement in diverse issues, especially migrations.

An issue raised in the introduction is why in this thesis the distinction between impoverished and enriched countries is used. At this point of the writing, those arguments remain valid, but as it has been shown there are 'foreign immigrant' associations composed of people from impoverished countries who are in the top business world (like Clube de Empresários Brasileiros in Lisbon) or who find

themselves among the bourgeoisie (like the Indian and Hindu associations in Barcelona and Lisbon). They are exceptions to the general pattern, and confirm that there it is possible to talk about a world-wide capitalist class with a smaller number of representatives in impoverished countries. Thus both components of the capitalist class can migrate and organise themselves in their new places of residence. The difference in relation to labour migrants is that they are more free to travel than workers.

Furthermore, there are organisations with positions that are not so clear. It is the case of the Catholic church that has some sections who side with poor immigrants in the defence of labour rights, but that on other issues may have conservative positions. Furthermore, the Catholic church body in charge of the assistance to 'foreign immigrants' from impoverished countries is different in Barcelona (Caritas) to that in Lisbon (Obra Católica das Migrações). In Portugal Caritas is not dealing with 'foreign immigrants' problems, just with poor Portuguese people (the higher level of poverty in Portugal has to be taken into account, however), while the former Catholic church body dealing with Portuguese emigrants' issues included later in its scope 'foreign immigrants' from impoverished countries. Instead, in Barcelona, even if for some years a special body for helping immigrants existed within the Catholic Church, since the early 1990s Caritas has absorbed its competencies in order to improve its own objectives.

In this thesis there is not a categorisation of particular associations according to labels, here there has been an attempt to discover several logics that affect most social organisations in both Iberian cities. Logics are not so rigid, their influence may vary from time to time, and from place to place, the same association may be performing different contradictory logics at the same time, e.g. boosting social relations with a mutual aid workshop during the evening, while providing a top-down service during the morning. However, from the fieldwork it can be learned that there are some organisations that keep a steady systemic trend as hegemonic for a long period, while others follow mostly a social path for a long time.

Even if, since the late 1970s, the general context is not one of social mobilisation, it has to be noted that subversive and reversionary social organisations and movements also

exist as minority. They are opposed explicitly or implicitly to the capitalist system and the challenge is still to become majority (understood as the addition of minorities). However, in relation to 'foreign immigration', both in Barcelona and Lisbon during recent years, when protests have appeared, they usually have not been against the representatives of capital, but against governments. In some cases, to target governments as responsible for the suffering of some 'foreign immigrants' is like targeting the executioner, but not against those who lobby and convince the executioner to act (e.g. capital via its collective actors). It is obvious that he/she who executes is also responsible, but not usually alone.

The metaphor 'execute' is not an exaggeration. When making reference to expulsions it is necessary to take into account those persons who could be killed if they return to their countries of origin, as in the case of asylum seekers, or on their way back, when police methods do not respect human life. These facts do not leave everybody indifferent. Beside information campaigns or institutional pressure on governments exerted by NGOs, 'foreign immigrant' associations or trade unions, there are also groups of people who have performed more direct actions. Over a year ago, in Belgium, Collective Contre les Expulsions broke the fences of a special prison for foreigners where people about to be deported had been jailed²⁴⁷. It is difficult to write on governments' implication in social integration when they are expelling 'foreign' people that have been living in western Europe for quite a few years and have created links with native people. However, from this thesis it can be learned that the same public authority (including local governments) can be implementing completely diverse and contradictory policies on immigration at the same time. The ideology and personality of civil servants and officers in charge of government bodies are influential in the implementation of a public policy. But their competencies are limited, and an increasing number of damaging laws and rules are enforced following international treaties like Schengen, that were signed without democratic agreement. And when

²⁴⁷ This direct action was inserted in a campaign organised in order to free the Nigerian woman Semira Adamu, an asylum seeker in Belgium (*The Independent*, 30-7-1998). However, sadly, on that occasion Semira was not freed. A few weeks later, this 20-year-old woman was killed by Belgian police officers while being forced to return to Nigeria. This crime originated small protest demonstrations in several European countries (*Info-Usurpa. Boletín Semanal de Contrainformación de Barcelona*, n. 29, 30-9-1998). In Lisbon, it included an attack with red paint on the Belgian embassy.

some social movements complain about such unfair decision-making processes and their consequences for 'foreign immigrants', they are accused by governments of being 'idealistic' and they are 'invited' to take care of daily immigrants' problems like the renewal of residence permits or other administrative problems. The harsh reality is that these international agreements affect 'foreign immigrants' daily life directly.

The colonisation of the lifeworld by the system, understood as the annihilation of social life by the dynamics of the capitalist system, in the case of 'foreign immigration' has clear examples, but not unique ones, among most domestic service workers in Barcelona and the construction workers in Lisbon, especially during the preparation for Expo 98. Among both, working hours are unlimited, and they often live in isolated places, apart from the rest of society, in one case in private homes, in the other on building sites²⁴⁸, while they are well integrated in the capitalist production and reproduction system.

In relation to domestic service, to talk about 'work' is not just to talk about that work realised in exchange for a salary. In this sense, in this thesis it has been necessary to understand 'work' in a wide sense, in order to include both kinds. An instance is the collective action of Al-Wafa in Barcelona, whose members simultaneously do salaried work and non-salaried domestic work, and try to struggle against the oppressive dynamics of both kinds of work. Following the case of domestic service carried out by many women, either natives or immigrants, for their own family without economic reward, the duality capital-labour does not explain everything. Such work is rooted in a patriarchy characteristic of many societies and originated before capitalism. Capital is benefiting from the 'double working day' done by many women. As it benefited (and still is benefiting in certain places) from the slavery of African and Asian people, which allowed the primitive capital accumulation necessary for industrialisation in the framework of the triangular trade. The dynamics created by patriarchy are often

²⁴⁸ In the Spanish context, also hard jobs in agriculture are done by foreign workers, especially Africans. They often live isolated in huts, in abandoned old rural houses, or sleeping with the sky as roof. Curiously enough, agriculture, domestic service and construction are the kind of activities included in the quotas (*cupos*) for foreign workers created by the PSOE government in 1993 and continued by the PP government, in both cases with CiU support.

complementary and favourable to capital, but are at other times also contradictory to its logic.

The colonisation of the lifeworld by the system is also the imposition of the logic of the market, of money, over other logics based on culture, education, friendship, health, ecological values, freedom or equality. In this way, although it is possible to acknowledge significant local working-class efforts to support 'foreign workers' both in Barcelona and Lisbon, it is necessary to insist that in reality 'solidarity' is limited among working-class people. The immigrants' trade networks, spectacularly shown by mass media, make explicit how exploitation is also possible among workers trapped in capitalist relations. These cases exist as an outcome of an ideological and political capital offensive that lately has been intense. However, it is also possible to find isolated cases of small employers who try to mitigate capital's effects by treating workers with a certain dignity, although room to manoeuvre within capitalism is small.

In general terms, this thesis confirms that 'trans-class' social organisations related to 'foreign immigration' are rare in Barcelona and Lisbon. It is more common to find differentiated social organisations - within the social 'sector' named 'foreign immigrants' - that are related to labour and capital separately (as the fundamental classes). This does not mean that any association composed of precarious Moroccan workers (or any trade union) is anti-capitalist; nor that any Swiss business club is explicitly oriented to increase workers' exploitation. Social reality is more complex. For instance, governments still have a key role in softening social polarisation, although lately they may act through publicly funded NGOs (it has to be noted that receipt of funding from government does not necessarily mean immediate submission, for there are a few exceptional NGOs that keep their autonomy for a short time, then have to decide which path to follow). Also some privately funded NGOs may have their freedom limited by such a link: for instance, if an NGO is sponsored by a Jewish foundation it is difficult for this NGO to be involved in supporting the struggle of Palestinian exiles. And conversely, if an NGO is funded by a Saudi Arabian foundation it is difficult for it to support the Jewish struggle against Nazis denying the holocaust. There are other factors that are influential in such complexity: unequal access to education, information, power, the media, material resources, and international

organisation make it difficult for people to resist capital openly, and to resist the colonisation of the lifeworld by the system (i.e. systemic integration).

Such systemic colonisation processes may use racism to kill social solidarity. When the institution which is acting in a racist way is the government, it can be called institutional racism. However, if it is possible to observe a certain interest among governments to have racism in society (as some discriminatory policies that actively or passively foster racism suggest), it is also true that an 'excess' of racism is not in their interest because it would ruin the reproduction of capitalist relations on which capitalist countries' governments are based (this is why they may support anti-racist NGOs and they may prevent far right-wing groups from disturbing people's life too much). A certain level of racism is seen as positive for the capitalist system because it keeps people divided, it keeps open another conflict that is added to the conflict on the appropriation of labour's production, the sexual division of work and environmental damage. The capitalist system was threatened early in the twentieth century because social conflicts were mainly focused on a single issue: the control of the means of production and the appropriation of labour's surplus value (even if other conflicts were also taking place, the former was a priority for many social movements). This is why the diversification of main conflicts after the 1960s is in favour of capitalist reproduction, and this is why the system is not benefited from racism if it would be a main single conflict (and why it is possible to find a special police brigade to keep neonazis under control). For the system benefits from having a certain degree of racism, classism and sexism in society, but kept under control (for example, in Spain when in 1998 there was reported in the media a dramatic increase of women killed by their husbands at home, a special police brigade to monitor domestic violence was created to tackle the situation). However, it is not usual to find governments addressing the origins of the problem in order to prevent it. What changes between fordism and post-fordism is the *form* of governments policies in dealing with racism (and sexism or other questions). In post-fordist times, governments may fund NGOs (directly or indirectly) in order to deal with such issues, while in fordist times, if dealt with at all, it was mainly done by the government itself.

The critique carried out in this thesis on (neoliberal) post-fordist approaches to the relations between governments, social movements and capital does not try to support going back to (Keynesian) fordist approaches (although the latter so far can be considered better than the first one in order to cover people's basic needs in the countries where was implemented). Instead, a real people's self-management of life as a whole (including material production), away from the logics of the market and bureaucracy, can be a better solution to current problems²⁴⁹. However, in order to reach such an aim, it may be necessary to struggle 'against and within' the state at once²⁵⁰.

Furthermore, the same post-fordist trend may have different translations in diverse local polities, and the characteristics of these polities may be a key influence on how the state deals with racism in each place. In the case of SOS Racisme, it was established in France in the early 1980s under the influence of the French Socialist party (PSF). However, when an NGO was created under the name of SOS Racisme in Barcelona in the late 1980s it was composed mainly of people close to the then communist trade union Comissions Obreres, Iniciativa per Catalunya (including PSUC members) and other smaller far left-wing groups, and by people not involved in party politics. And in Lisbon, when SOS Racismo was created in the early 1990s it was composed mainly by members of a small trotskyist party called Partido Socialista Revolucionário (PSR), members of the Partido Comunista Português (PCP), and other people not involved in party politics (later PCP members left SOS Racismo and created Frente Anti-Racista). In both Iberian cities, unlike in Paris, Socialist parties (PSOE and PS) did not play a key role in the creation of SOS Racisme branches, their executive committees were not very interested in these issues during those years.

The international expansion of this anti-racist NGO has created a diversity that makes it difficult to reach agreements at the European level. However, after its creation, new people who were not involved in political parties joined SOS Racisme in these

²⁴⁹ Some grassroots experiences in Latin America can be inspiring in this sense (e.g. *Talleres de Transformación Integral* in some neighbourhoods).

²⁵⁰ Capitalist processes had to live together with feudalism for some time, until the latter collapsed as the hegemonic system. Thus, grassroots socialist, communist, ecologist and anarchist practices and theories that today live together with capitalism may be useful if the latter end up collapsing.

countries, and thus today it is not possible to conceive SOS Racisme just in terms of party affiliation because its membership is more diverse. In any case, what the expansion of this NGO shows is that in each place there were different political activists willing to participate in the anti-racist struggle under the same label of SOS Racisme. In other words, the main anti-racist social organisations in Lisbon and in Barcelona were organised on a different political basis, although they share the same name and may participate in common international events. These differences were influential in the fact that diverse processes of institutionalisation have taken place in Barcelona and Lisbon. If, in funding terms, for SOS Racisme of Catalonia the better governmental relations were with Generalitat de Catalunya, for SOS Racismo of Portugal the better institutional relations were with the DG-V of the European Commission, because it wants to be more independent from the national government.

In this thesis several ways have been studied of how other geographical issues are influential in the organisation and action of collectives that try to transform or to maintain the *status quo*. For instance, to have access to a local meeting place can be basic for the development of an association. It is true that for a certain period, some associations may survive without a permanent headquarters, but if they want to keep on working, they finally consider that obtaining one is a priority. The location of such places can also be a key issue²⁵¹.

However, as noted in previous chapters, the relationship between geography and social organisations goes beyond these questions. Collective action of working and popular classes in the neighbourhood or workplace (but also at other places like leisure facilities) can foster social integration among them; in other words, it can improve class solidarity at local scale. Such solidarity can be useful in order to confront diverse aggressions suffered by people due to bureaucratisation and exploitation processes characteristic of systemic integration. These damaging processes provoked by the

²⁵¹ As it has been noted in this thesis, in Barcelona most social organisations relevant here are located in Ciutat Vella: near the main government buildings, where there is easy public transport access, and where there is a significant residential presence of 'foreign workers'. Furthermore, organisations mainly composed of north-western Europeans and North Americans are located in the richer areas of the city (Sarrià-Sant Gervasi and Les Corts). In some cases, when the location of the headquarters has been wrongly chosen it has resulted in a period of crisis of the association, and moving headquarters is usually considered by some interviewees as a turning point in the history of their association.

system do not just include exploitation at the workplace and problems derived of slow and impossible administrative procedures, but also for instance the financial dependence that mortgages imply, for example, with higher interest rates to pay in ten or twenty years²⁵². Such solidarity can give way to mutual help dynamics characterised by avoiding the use of money in order to cover some needs (like some LETS²⁵³ in a few British cities, those that avoid using any kind of money), it can give way to co-operative ways of production, it can give way to opening alternative cultural and 'leisure' places (like in a few squatted social centres in Iberia or Italy), among others.

Furthermore, from a geographical perspective much can be said in the analysis and practice of grassroots transnational solidarity among oppressed people all over the world. A kind of solidarity in the mid term should be based - in order to confront seriously global capital - on a world-wide coordination of local and regional collective actions. The current example of People's Global Action (PGA) is a network that can be supported from below also in Iberia²⁵⁴.

In order to make such grassroots transcontinental solidarity possible, communications are necessary, and thus to be able to speak several languages is a key issue. A number of 'foreign immigrants' that arrive in Barcelona and Lisbon speak languages other than Catalan, Spanish or Portuguese. Thus some immigrants are potentially a bridge to build grassroots transnational solidarity. Whether it would be effectively possible in a significant way will depend on a number of factors that need more study and practice. However, the kind of social mobilisation context existing in general in the places of immigrants' arrival will be probably one of the key factors to take into account, together with the relevance of consumerism as an obstacle to overcome if mobilisation is affected by it (where happiness is believed that can be bought is difficult to see activist people challenging the system), and the spread of internet as a more horizontal

²⁵² As the colleague Pablo Fernández wondered in a discussion, what can integrate more into the system than a mortgage to be paid every month of a 'life' during a large number of years?

²⁵³ Local Exchange Trade System. This is an interesting and complex alternative experience. See, for instance, North (1997), Scott, Hodges (1996), Williams (1996), but also Neary, Taylor (1998).

²⁵⁴ On the 18th of June and the 30th of November 1999, the small demonstrations in Barcelona and other Iberian cities while in other places there were thousands of people on the streets shows the potential for transnational co-ordination, but also its current weakness.

means of communication that, as most tools, can boost both systemic or social processes.

In any case, and related to the languages issue, it is lamentable that in Catalonia existing linguistic debates do not take into account that, besides Catalan and Spanish speaking people there are also thousands of people who speak as a first or second language Berber (Amazigh), Arabic, Tagal, Chinese, Urdu, English or German²⁵⁵. For the time being these people have been ignored (except in the case of a few language courses for local people and immigrants' children). What are the linguistic rights suggested in language debates to these part of Catalan society? Is it possible to talk about the simplistic dichotomy of monolingualism versus bilingualism, or is it necessary to talk about multi-lingualism or translingualism? And in Lisbon, besides the hegemonic use of the Portuguese language, African and Asian languages have been publicly ignored, although they are also used as oral languages in some of Lisbon neighbourhoods. What linguistic rights do they have? Is Portugal going to be officially a monolingual country forever? Would such hypothetical linguistic rights be opposed to the *Lusofonia* project?

However, this thesis has also raised issues that need to be studied in more depth in the near future:

- Currently, people who participate actively in social organisations are minorities, even if most people may participate passively, as consumers, users, spectators or may be benefited from their work. Why some people never participate actively in any social movement or organisation? Time and space constraints may be an answer, but is it enough? How some of the process studied in this thesis affect them? How the situation can be changed in order to reach movements of the majority (understood as the addition of minorities)? A research on 'best-practices' may be useful.

- During the final writing up of this thesis , there occurred some riots in Terrassa - a town in the periphery of Barcelona's metropolitan area - which have had a major

²⁵⁵ And if historical rights are appealed to, a number of centuries ago Arabic was one of the main languages in what today are Catalonia and Portugal.

media impact in Catalonia and Spain. In brief, as result of a fight between two youngsters in an impoverished working-class area of that town, a group of 'neonazis' took advantage of a tense situation and spread hatred against 'Moroccans', convincing 1,000 neighbours (in an area with 20,000 residents) to demonstrate violently for some nights against some selected targets (a Mosque, a Moroccan shop amongst others). Several issues that need further research may have been influential in such a riot: the passiveness for years of Terrassa city government (which can now justify a capitalist speculative urban programme in the area otherwise causing agitation among neighbours); struggles between drug dealers to control the territory; the lack of involvement of young people from this kind of impoverished area in constructive social movements or organisations; the political work of a few organised Spanish neonazis in impoverished areas after the Autonomous Catalan police repression against them in 1992²⁵⁶; Spanish police officers' links with some neonazis (as in the killing of Lucrecia Pérez) that give to the latter freedom of movement; higher unemployment rates among young people in this kind of neighbourhood; and the existence of some dozens of undocumented Moroccan immigrant children and teenagers living in the area without close family around or a way of earning a living. On the other hand, in Lisbon's metropolitan area, 'black' young people living in poor neighbourhoods are a target for the media and police who often consider them as a problematic group and a threat to order. This reinforces their discrimination, but apart from some rap music bands and a few cultural associations, political mobilisation to improve their daily life does not exist. In both cases action-research may be necessary in order to study in depth their situation and to empower them to improve their social condition.

- Although far away from Barcelona and Lisbon, the new situation created in Ceuta (Sebta) and Melilla (Mlilya) after the 1999 local elections may affect the Spanish political context, but also the immigration policies at European level. Both cities are Spanish enclaves in North Africa and are the unique terrestrial entry gate to southern

²⁵⁶ Until 1992-93 most neonazis were members of rich families and their location was mainly the richer areas of Barcelona, like Pedralbes and Sarrià-Sant Gervasi. Since then, the most politically organised among them have been spreading their word in impoverished neighbourhoods, copying the French National Front strategy.

Europe for African immigrants. The threat that the far right-wing populist party GIL²⁵⁷ may be in power in such key places is a real one. And the political summer 'soap opera' around post-electoral alliances between PP, PSOE and other local parties (including splits, blackmail, transfers, etc.) is a sign of how relevant such places can be. Although today the situation is different, it is worth remembering that Franco's uprising against democracy in Spain was designed and organised from Northern Africa, while most left-wing and liberal people in the 1930s thought that it was better to have far right-wingers busy outside the Iberian peninsula. After some riots in these African cities, in 1987, Izquierda Unida decided to dissolve its local branches in Sebta and Mlilya because they should not be considered Spanish any more. Over ten years later, the remainder of the main Spanish political parties still have their branches there and the de-colonisation process still has to be implemented. Until when? The European Union is allocating several thousand millions of pesetas in these North African cities to build several 'high-tech' fences in order to prevent the entry of new African immigrants. Why? Would it not be more efficient to de-colonise them as soon as possible?

- A deeper examination of the relations between capital organisations and social movements is needed, for example, how is capital influential in the transformations of individuals' and groups' participation in social organisations? How the increasing divide between those workers who are forced to work employed long hours to earn enough money to live and those workers with access to make money from money without needing to work so much affect participation in social organisation and working-class fragmentation? The form of the antagonism should perhaps be re-shaped: there are some salaried workers who behave as capitalists and some self-employed who survive in precarious conditions. However, what was changed is the form, not the content.

- The potentiality that transnational labour immigrants in European countries may have to foster grassroots solidarity between people in several countries is a topic that also deserves action-research. It may be useful to improve the quality of life in impoverished countries

²⁵⁷ This political party is named after its leader Jesús Gil y Gil, the mayor of Marbella and president of Atlético de Madrid football club, who was saved by Franco from prison after the killing of several tenants when a building constructed by his company collapsed.

from below, and to encourage global social links between peoples at a moment when European people need more social life in order to stop increasing individualism and isolation. Thus it can be useful to link people locally and globally, one scale of action can boost the other one in an inter-active way. For instance, much can be learned from experiences like the one lived by a small working class neighbourhood's football club that self-organised a travel from Europe to Chiapas to play friendly football with Zapatistas communities.

Epilogue

In the introduction to *Barcelonas* English edition, Manuel Vázquez Motalban (1992: 8) wrote the following words:

In Olympic Barcelona, the critics of Franquist town planning have become the managers of Olympic urban development, and the neighbourhood associations which led the struggle against speculation in the 1960s and 1970s have been disbanded. The city is critically disarmed. Conservative realism is the prevailing ideology and the pragmatists have won the day. Contests between the critic and the pragmatists are always loaded in favour of the latter. The work of the pragmatist, after all, is on permanent display while the opinions of the critic collect dust on library shelves.

In science, the question is 'does it always have to be this way?' Will it be possible to put it the other way round? Can we allow the work of the elitist-pragmatist collect dust on library shelves while the critical work is produced and used by people in the streets? *La única lucha que se pierde es la que se abandona* (the only struggle lost is the one that is abandoned).

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Appendix

1. List of interviewees in Barcelona*

- Abdelhak El Haddouti, foundation member and member of the executive committee, As. Immigrants Marroquins a Catalunya, 17.11.97.
- Ahmed Yafou, treasurer and executive membre, Associació Sòcio-Cultural Ibn Batuta, 15/9/97.
- Alberto Fernández, coordinator, Asociación Dominicana, 25/7/96.
- Atiqah Qadari, member of Al-Wafa, 9/6/97 and 3/11/97.
- Anne-Lise Cloetta, president, Club Escandinavo de Barcelona, 15/7/96.
- Aurora, Social Educator, collaborator of Ajuntament de Barcelona, 21/7/97.
- Brian Hare, president, American Society Barcelona, 24/7/96.
- Carmen Murias, executive member of Grups de Recerca i Actuació sobre Minories Culturals i Treballadors Estrangers (GRAMC), 18/7/97.
- Carolina Berg, secretary of the executive committee, Sociedad Suiza de Barcelona, 15/9/97.
- Carolina Mayeur, technician, Subdirección General Integración Social-IMSERSO, 23.7.97, Madrid.
- Danny Baela, representative of COMRADE-Catalunya, 8/9/97.
- Eduardo Planells, General Secretary of Gobernador Civil of Barcelona, 18/7/96.
- Elena Barinaga, Secretary of Foro para la Integración Social de los Inmigrantes, 24.7.97, Madrid.
- Elsa López, member of the women's group of Casal Llatinoamericà a Catalunya (CLACA) and Federació de Col·lectius d'Immigrants a Catalunya (FCIC), 21/11/97.
- Eulàlia Tarragó, Ajuntament de St. Adrià del Besòs, 16.7.96
- Gemma Miralles, head of the Economy Department, SEFES, 19/9/97.
- Gemma Solera, coordinator of Servei de Migració de Barcelona, Càritas Diocesana, 27/10/97 and 3/11/97.
- Ghassan Saliba Zeghondi, president of Associació Catalunya-Líban and advisor of CITE-CCOO, 11/8/97 and 18/11/97.
- Glòria Fontcoberta, Vice-president, Associació de Veïns i Veïnes del Casc Antic, 18/7/96.
- Grace X, priest, Assembla Evangèlica Filipina, 3/10/97.
- Gustavo Gómez, lawyer, Associació d'Ajuda Mútua d'Immigrants de Catalunya (AMIC)-Unió General de Treballadors (UGT), 18/7/96.
- Hamid Berrani, coordinator of the project Setmana Solidària, Federació d'Associacions de Veïns de Barcelona (FAVB), 15/7/96.
- Hamid El-Mouhajir, member of the executive, Associació Dar-el-Riff, 17/6/96.
- Idrissa Djiba, president, Associació de Residents Senegalesos and advisor of CITE-CCOO, 6/8/97 and 7/8/97.
- Isidoro Barba, economic manager of SOS Racisme de Catalunya, 26/9/97 and 22/7/96.

- Irene Yamba, foundation member of Associació Ewaiso Ipola and women's group of Federació de Col·lectius d'Immigrants a Catalunya (FCIC), 18/11/97.
- Janine Muñoz, executive member and foundation member, Associació Catalano-Equatoriana, 22/9/97.
- Jesús Gómez, technician and foundation member, Centre d'Informació a Treballadors Estrangers (CITE)-Comissions Obreres (CCOO), 8/7/96.
- José Luís Salido, responsible for labour and social affairs department, Fomento del Trabajo Nacional (FTN), 15/9/97 and 23/7/96.
- José Vázquez, Speaker, Jefatura Superior de Policía de Barcelona, 25.11.97, BCN
- Josep Ignasi Urenda, Commissary for Civil Rights, Ajuntament de Barcelona, 24/10/97.
- Kai Li Shan, foundation member, Asociación Amigos de España (Hispano-Taiwanese association), 22/7/97.
- Lourdes Astigarraga, former coordinator of Servei de Migració de Barcelona, Càritas Diocesana, 24/7/96.
- Manuel Matellán, head of Departament d'Acció Empresarial, Fomento del Trabajo Nacional, FTN, 16/9/97.
- Maria Amelia Nunes de Oliveira, president, O Lusitano, 15/7/96.
- Maria Bruguera, coordinator of Departament d'Immigració de la USOC, 20/10/97.
- Mariel Araya, member of Casa del Uruguay-Asociación Amigos del Uruguay, 30/7/96.
- Mateo Albillos, General Secretary of Dirección Provincial de Trabajo y Asuntos Sociales, 23.9.97.
- Mercè Zegri, coordinator of Projecte Xenofilia, 8/8/97 and 7/8/96.
- Miguel Pajares, president of Centre d'Informació a Treballadors Estrangers (CITE)-Comissions Obreres (CCOO), 4/8/97.
- Mohamed Derdabi, secretary of the executive committee of Asociación de Trabajadores Inmigrantes Marroquíes en Espanya (ATIME)de Catalunya and member of the executive committee of Asociación de Jovenes Inmigrantes,AJI, 11/7/96.
- Mohamed El-Bouhali, member of Centro Averroes and collaborator of Projecte Xenofilia.
- Montserrat Solé, secretary of Immigration Advisory Council, Generalitat de Catalunya, 22.9.97.
- Mowafach Kanfach, owner of Casa del Libro Árabe, 15/7/97.
- Mustafá El Kaisi, coordinator of Associació d'Ajuda Mútua d'Immigrants de Catalunya (AMIC)-Unió General de Treballadors (UGT), 23/10/97.
- Naima Anzar, member of col·lectiu Al-Wafa, 9/6/97 and 3/11/97.
- Nazarín Amiriam, leader of Asociación Democrática de la Mujer Iraní-Estado Español, 14/8/97.
- Norma Falconi, coordinator of Portes Obertes-C.G.T., 18/9/97.
- Obam Micó, member of the executive committee of Federació de Col·lectius d'Immigrants a Catalunya (FCIC) and Associació Bia Fang, 16/7/97 and 31/7/96.
- Paulita Astillero, secretary of the executive committee of Centro Filipino Tuluyan-Asociación de Inmigrantes Filipinos de Barcelona, 17/7/96.
- Pere Novella, technician of Social Affairs Area in charge of immigration issues, Ajuntament de Barcelona, 16.7.96 + 1.10.97 + 20.10.97.
- Richard Schweid, journalist of *Barcelona Metropolitan*, 17/9/97.
- Rubén i Marian, members of Associació Catalano-Equatoriana, 17/9/97.
- Sheila Possner, member of American and International Women Association, 23/9/97.

- Sílvia Esteban, member of the executive committee and head of the cultural department, Asociación Amigos del Brasil, 16/7/97.
- Suresh Wadhmal Raisinghan, member of the executive committee, Indian Association, 17/7/96.
- Teresa Losada, director, Asociación española de amistad con el pueblo árabe “Bayt Al Thaqa”, 12/7/96.
- Valentí València, secretariat of Federació d'Associacions Cooperatives de Treball Associat (FACCTA), 27/11/97.
- Xavier Duran, Ana Ros, Arantxa Matas, Ajuntament de Barcelona, 11.6.97, BCN
- X1, Anonymous attendant to Centro Islámico, 11/7/97.
- X2, Anonymous manager of Japanese transnational company member of Asociación de Empresas Japonesas, 25/9/97.
- X3, Anonymous member of the Pakistanese community, 12/9/97.
- X4, Imam of Centre Islàmic, 19/7/97.

*in the last four cases, the names of the interviewees do not appear following their wishes.

2. List of interviewees in Lisbon

- Alcestina Tolentino, president of Associação Caboverdeana and member of the European Immigration Forum, Lisboa, 17-6-97.
- Ana Godinho, Secretária Conselho Municipal das Comunidades Imigrantes e das Minorias Étnicas, Lisboa, 20-3-98 and 10-6-99.
- António Bustorff, president, Clube de Empresários do Brasil, Lisboa, 14-5-98.
- António Tavares, member of Comissão Nacional para a Regularização de Eestrangeiros (CNRE), SOS Angola and presidente of Comissão Instaladora da Federação das Comunidades Lusófonas, Lisboa, 11-3-98.
- Arnaldo Andrade, technician at Immigració Department of UGT, leader of Associação Caboverdeana and MP at Assembleia de Cabo Verde as representative of Capeverdian emigration in Europe, Lisboa, 1-4-98.
- Barbara Mesquita, geograher-technician, Conselho Português para os Refugiados (CPR), Chelas-Lisboa, 13-4-98.
- Carlos Trindade, national leader of CGTP-IN and organiser of the trade unions days-school on immigration, Lisboa, 23-2-98.
- Carlos Vianna, president of Casa do Brasil de Lisboa and participant of SCAL, 13-6-97, 18-6-97 and 4-2-98.
- Celia Portela da Silva, leader of Interjovem (CGTP), Lisboa, 25-2-98.
- Clara Alves, speaker of the *Comissário* of Expo 98, Lisboa, 5-5-98.
- Cristina Andrade, president, Clube Nórdico, Cascais, 26-5-98.
- Delfim Simões, *delegado* of Sindicato da Construção, Lisboa, 19-2-98.
- Dolar, member of the executive committee, Comunidade Hindú de Portugal, Lisboa, 17-5-98.

- Eduardo Pontes, member of the executive committee of Associação Moinho da Juventude, Amadora, 6-5-98.
- Eliana Gaspar, member of the executive committee of Casa do Brasil, Lisboa, 13-6-97.
- Elisa, Social assistant, CEPAC, 1-4-98 and 2-4-98.
- Fernando Carvalho, member of the executive committee of Centro Social Luso-Venezolano, Santa Maria da Feira-Espinho, 2-5-98.
- Fernando Ká, president of Associação Guineense de Solidariedade Social (AGUINENSO), Lisboa, 14-4-98.
- Fernando Pais Afonso, responsible of Economy Department of AECOPS, Lisboa, 20-3-98.
- Flora Silva, president, Olho Vivo, Queluz, 30-3-98.
- Inácio Matinshe, Paula Nascimento, Fernando Gondra, organisers of “Carnaval Multicultural Lisboa 98”, Câmara Municipal de Lisboa (CML), 13-4-98.
- João Serpa, *dirigente*, member of the executive committee, Sindicato da Construção (CGTP), Lisboa, 25-2-98.
- José Falcão, speaker and member of the executive committee of SOS Racismo, Lisboa, 20-2-98.
- José Leitão, Alto Comissário para a Imigração e Minorias Étnicas (ACIME), Lisboa, 20-2-98.
- Luisa Eckroade, member of the executive committee, American Women Organisation in Lisbon (AWOL), Monte Estoril, 20-4-98.
- Manuel Correia, member of the executive committee of CGTP and Frente Anti-Racista and ex-MP for PCP, Lisboa, 11-2-98 and 17-2-98.
- Manuela Gameiro, head of the Economy Department of Confederação de Indústria Portuguesa (CIP), Lisboa, 27-3-98.
- Manuela Oliveira, member of the executive committee of SOS Racismo, Lisboa, 12-2-98.
- Maria Celeste Correia, MP at Assembleia da República, Partido Socialista, PS, Lisboa, 10-2-98.
- Maria Delfina Ruivo Trindade, member of the executive committee, Caritas Portuguesa, Lisboa, 19-3-98.
- Maria João, member of the executive committee, Associação Unidos de Cabo Verde, Fontainhas, Amadora, 6-5-98 and 19-5-98.
- Maria José and Georgina Belo, members of the executive committee, Associação de Solidariedade com Angola (ASA), Lisboa, 12-2-98.
- Maria Teresa Tito de Moraes Mendes, presidenta, Conselho Português para os Refugiados (CPR), Lisboa, 20-4-98.
- M. Yiossuf Mohamed Adamgy, director of Al-Furqan/member of Comunidade Islâmica de Lisboa, São António dos Cavaleiros, 7-2-98.
- Neila A. Karimo, member of Casa de Moçambique, Lisboa, 17-4-98.
- Nelia Johnston, leader of Sindicato dos Trabalhadores de Serviços de portaria, vigilância, limpeza, domésticas, profissões similares e Actividades Diversas (STAD), Lisboa, 11-2-98.
- Nolo Ionescu, distinguished member of Comunidade Romanesa and member of Olho Vivo, Queluz, 3-4-98. (it is a fake name to keep anonymous his identity).
- Padre Manuel Soares, director of Obra Católica das Migrações (OCM) and coordinator of SCAL, Lisboa, 20-2-98.
- Pedro, Sergio and Timoteo, members de Olho Vivo, Queluz, 17-3-98.

- Paula Laguinho, Associação de Empresas de Prestação de Serviços de Limpeza, Lisboa, 19-3-98.
- Paulo Braga, technician responsible of culture and education, UCCLA, Lisboa, 3-4-98.
- Rita Gomes, Associação de Mulheres Migrantes, Lisboa, 7-4-98.
- Rosário Castro, secretary, Casa do Brasil de Lisboa, Lisboa, 4-2-98.
- Seck Mohamed, member of the Senegalese community and Olho Vivo, Queluz, 7-4-98.
- Sheik Monir, Imam of Comunidade Islâmica de Lisboa, 24-2-98.
- Xana, responsible of Infasol project, Terra Viva, Porto, 19-5-98.
- Anonymous participants in Iberlim strike, Santa Apolonia train station, Lisboa, 22-5-98.